



Charles ii^e second, by y^e grace of God King
of England, Scotland, France, & Ireland. Defender
of the Faith . &c.



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THE
FANATICK HISTORY;
OR
An Exact
RELATION and ACCOUNT
OF
The Old ANABAPTISTS,
AND
New QUAKERS.

Being the summe of all that hath been
yet discovered about their most Blasphemous
Opinions, Dangerous Practises, and Malitious
Endevours to subvert all Civil Government
both in Church and State.

Together with their Mad Mimick Pranks, and
their ridiculous actions and gestures, enough
to amaze any sober Christian.

Which may prove the Death & Burial
OF
The Fanatick Doctrine.

Published with the approbation of divers Orthodox
Divines.

Beloved believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God; because many false Prophets are gone out into the world, 1 Joh. 4. 1.

London, Printed for J. Sims, at the Crofs Keyes in
St. Paul's Church-yard. 1660.

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16170



To the Majesty of the most high and
Mighty Prince, Charles the II.
King of England, Scotland,
France, and Ireland, Defender of
the faith, &c.

Royal Sir,

THe Author of this book if living, doth as yet conceal his name; but however the work doth speak his worth: it now happily came into my hands, and if your title and office did not warrant me, I had not presumed to make your Majesty the Patron to so small a book (although of great consequence.) But (as you are the Defender of the Faith,) you have some obligation upon you to patronise it; For when had the Faith of Christ more need of Defence then now? and when was it more assaulted, and adulterated by Blasphemous tenets, and Heretical

A 2 opinions

The Epistle Dedicatory.

opinions especially by *Anabaptists*, and
Quakers then now? which none but a re-
gal authority can stifle; They are grown
so exceeding high and daring, that if your
Majesty put not out your royal hand of
power suddenly to restrain them, they are
so numerous, and so seducing, that they
will (in a little time) diffuse their poyson
over the better part of your Kingdom;
I beseech your grace to pardon the pre-
sumption of,

Your most Loyal,
and obedient Subject,

Richard Blome.

The

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

READER, thou hast here an exact account and History of the Opinions, Blasphemies, and practises of the Old Anabaptists in Germany, which so much infested those States; and the New Quakers in England, which have (of late) so much molested us: I have taken the pain of the Collection, that we being fore-warned of them, may be fore-armed against them, to avoid the like danger: they are a generation most pestiferous in their Doctrine, and dangerous in their Seduction, and so ought of all men to be avoided. There are many of late, and some of noble rank and quality, that are sensible of their erroneous ways, and are reduced from them; it is hoped (in a little time) many more will be so wise to do the like, which may prove the Death and Burial of their fanatick doctrine.

I have made a faithful Collection both out of their own books, and out of Authors of known reputation, and (that I may the better cleer my integrity therin,) I have all the way along noted the Book, and the Page where every particular is mentioned. In short, let me admonish thee to observe these rules.

1. That thou take no offence at Religion, or Religious Men] For there is pure Religion, and undefiled, and Religious ones, whose hearts are upright, whose wayes are ho'ly, and ends sincere, if thou shouldest be so taken in the Devils snare, though thou beest not fallen into Anabaptism or Quakerisme, yet thou art by them, to love Religion and Religious ones the better, but never the worse for this.

2. Do justice] Set the Saddle on the right horse, do not nick-name any thing thou dislikest, with the brand of Anabaptist or Quaker, thereby thou maist shew thy dislike but not thy charity; remember the command, Thou shalt not bear false witness

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witnesse against thy neighbour : the commonnesse of the thing makes me caution thee rather, it is tedious to instance in many, one for all. Phanatique is extended beyond intention, now it is come abroad and in vulgar mouths ; every profane person readily brands his neighbour with it, that will not run readily with him into the same excesse of riot.

3. Be Zealous] But 1. *xat' ēniȳwḠv* according to knowledge, do not speak evil of the things thou dost not understand, the things may well deserve blame, but thou art to be blamed that letst thy tongue run before thy wit, 2. *xat' d̄s̄r*, and secundum regulam, according to Gods rule, let not thy fire become wildefire, do no wrong, violence to any, bring not a railing accusation, but wisely consider thy place and power : the Quakers have too just occasion of complaint against many, this I humbly advise, and for shewing thy zeal, it will be sufficient in thy place, and according to thy power that God hath intrusted thee withall to keep thy self and others from their tenets, wyses, companyes and persons, so may run into the Mouth of them, but keep thy ground where God hath set thee; and make use of the bands God hath given thee.

4. Stand and wonder] 1. At the corruption and deceitfulness of mans heart, 2. the subtilty of Satan, 3. and the severe judgement of a righteous God, they are tremenda, astonishing things. See you not how the Devil can change his shape, alter his tone, make use of Scripture, reveal sin, presse duty, ravish the affections, come as Christ and the spirit of God? and all this but to deceive and destroy, and violently force the mortification of the body, that that way may be the destruction of the Soul: who knows his methods his depths? he was a Serpent before a Lyon, and a Serpent still to deceive, that he may be a Lyon to tear. Again what is man? well educated, rightly principaled, far restrained yea, making a great shew of godlinesse, got almost in the eye of the world to the door of Heaven, yet when

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when Offence is taken, pride nourished, a Lust satisfied, a way fallen into, affections tickled, a party confederate, whether may not this man fall? into a Lust agaist light, sin agaist relations, Heresies agaist the foundations, Blasphemie agaist God, and setting up of himself equal to the Almighty. Lastly, all this of God, as a righteous avenger of all unrighteousnesse, who when he sees what men do not behold, and findes an opportunity most subservient to his glory, lets man lust to fall into the bands of his own heart, & into the power of his worst adversary, and then what a piece of provocation, instrument of mischief, and mirror of wonder doth he become?

5. Rise up and blesse God] If not fallen from the truth, if not decayed in thy spiritual life, if still attending on God in the use of his means, for further communion quickning and growth: who hath made thee differ? how comes this to passe, but by grace? that when others are fallen, thou shouldest stand, when others are gone off, thou shouldest go on; others waxing worse and worse, thou shouldest be coming better and better, thou hast the same Heart and the same Devil, but a better God, blesse his name for so great a blessing.

6. Walk with God] Remember whereunto thou art called, what thou doft professe, what God doth require, and be holy, give an evidence thy way is better then o:thers, by appearing and being more holy, more heavenly, more charitable, more righteous, more circumfспект then others; I have often read it with grief, what things the Quakers have charged upon the generality of people, their ignorance, their pride, their profaneness, their earthly mindednesse, drunkennesse, swearing and uncleanness; cb! you that hate the Quakers and their ways, that you would in this hear their voice, own your sins, shame your Souls, and speedily and really mend your wajes: is there any thing in those people and their tenets bad? and is there any thing good or not pleasing to God in such iniquities? hast thou in thy intemperate zeal a stene

The Preface to the Reader.

a stone for them, and hast thou not in just indignation a stone to fling at thy own self, against thy own Sin? beeſt thou a notorious person? mend betime; the very Quakers in the streets cry out upon thee: art thou good? strive to be better, this is the way even to convince them, if not to witness to the truth, and hold others that they may not be seduced, I observe, many at first have too just offence given unto them, and then are the easier seduced, by a ſhow of sanctity: God keep us both from taking and giving offence. Farewell.

Domine Deus! quæcumque ſcripsi in his libris de tuo, agnoscant & cui; ſi quæ de meo & tu ignosce & cui. Amen.

Lib. 1. The Old Anabaptist. In Chapter 6.

- CHAP. I. The disposition of the peop' e that embraced *Anabaptism*: the Reformed Religion cleared from any ſociety with it.
- II. The occaſion and ſeeds of *Anabaptism*, the insurrection of Muncer and Phifer.
- III, IV. The tragical disorders committed at *Munſter*.
- V. Of the *Anabaptists* in Low-Germany.
- VI. Of the *Anabaptists* in Switzerland and other places.

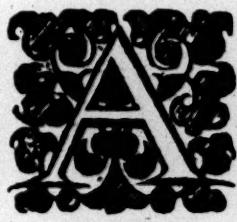
Lib. 2. The New Quaker. In Chapter 10.

- CHAP. I. Their name and practice.
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The old ANABAPTIST:
OR,
A Short History
OF THE
ANABAPTISTS
IN
GERMANIE.
LIB. I.

CHAP. I.

The disposition of the people that embraced Anabaptism. The Reformed Religion cleared from any societie with it.



S in a hot Summers day, many times there riseth a great mist with the Sun-rising; the like comes to pass at the rising of the Sun of righteousness. Since the days of the Apostles, that Sun never shone with more brightness and vigour then in *Luther's* beginnings; but it seemeth that this very strength of the Sun-shine of the Truth

B

which

which dispelled the dark night of Popery, raised the foul mist of *Anabaptism*; which sinistre effect must not be ascribed to the nature of the Truth, but to the indisposition of the several subjects not capable to receive it; for where the Gospel meeteth with the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit (which yet is the work of Grace, not Nature) it first enlightneth the understanding, and then
 (a) sweetly persuadeth the Will, and warmtheth the
 viuer & Affections; but meeting with we k and turbulent
 feriter.
 Aug.

This was seen in the common people of *Germany*, *Low-Countries*, and *Switzerland*, whose souls were as corse as their condition; for no sooner had *Luther* and *Zwinglius* began to preach the true *Gospel*, but the people made to themselves a new *Giffel* of licentiousness and rebellion, which produced such furious effects, that it was like to have strangled the true *Gospel* in its cradle: And it seemed that God, angry at the wilful blindness of the world that loved darkness rather than light, had prepared a worm to strike that Gourd the next day after its sudden happy rising.

But God would not suffer the good to be overcome with evil, but overcame the evil with good; for *Anabaptism* lasted not in its strength above ten years, and ever since (till of late in *England*) hath been only buzzing in obscure corners, like a Wasp that hath lost its sling. Whereas the true Religion,
 not-

notwithstanding the many persecutions of the world and all the craft of Satan, gets life (b) by her wounds, and hath given to the Romish beast that deadly blow, of which she shall bleed till she die, *haret lateri lethalis arundo.*

San-
guis mar-
tyrum se-
men Ec-
clesia.

But because the Papists shall not ascribe (as they use) those factions and rebellions to the Reformation, it will be requisite to observe what were the dispositions of the Commons of High and Low Germany, a little before Luther began to oppose the Pope.

Thi hemius Abbas Uffergensis, in his Chronicle of the year 1503. relateth, that in that year arose a great sedition of Peasants about Bruxels, which he calleth *Liga Sotularia*; They were sworn to these Articles, To shake off the yoke of all higher Powers, (c) and get liberty by force of Arms like the *Switzers*; To pull down all Magistrates, and kill all that should stand against them; To seize on the City of Bruxels, and invade the Marquisate of *Ba-tam non den*; To seize on all the revenues of Monasteries, (d) Churches and Clergy-men; To stay no where above 24. hours; (e) but go forward still, till they had brought many Countries to their society; To pay no more Tithes, nor Lords rents, nor Tributes: Whosoever was received into that League, was to say five times a day on his knees (f) a *Pater* and an *Ave*, for the good success of their enterprise; and their word of cognisance was the *Virgin Mary* and *Saint John* the Evangelist. But that League

(c) A
thing at-
tempted

and tan-
den;

effected

in Eng-
land this

last year;

(d) As
to pay

the Soul-

diary.

(e) And how great and many mutations in England in one year. (f) Whose finger here?

went but a little way, being timely stopt, and the Authors put to death by *Maximilian* their Prince. Compare these Articles with those of the *Anabaptists* 30 years after in the same Country, you shall find them the same, and both varnished over with

(g) In no. (g) Religion: All the difference was that the *Sotulamini do- rians* kept in their old heresie, and the Anabaptists broached a new one: I hope the Papists will not impute that sedition to the Reformation, no more than the enraged rebellions of the *Gantois* against their Soveraigns; for both were rank Papists: The true cause then must be ascribed to the mutinous humor of that Nation, which afterwards was made worse by the cruel domination of the *Spaniard*; so that when Reformation came, and shook off the yoke of Popery, the discontented Commons took occasion (by wresting and corrupting the holy Doctrine) to shake off the yoke of their hard masters, and turned the spiritual liberty of the Gospel, into carnal licentiousness.

The like reason must be given for the *Anabaptistical* commotions in High *Germany*; for in *Luther's* time, and before, the lower sort of people

(h) A warning to Governors to rule well, lest the horse throw his rider were extremely (h) opprest by the Princes, Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the Empire, which made *Luther* to write about it to all the Princes, Anno 1525. to dehort them from their infinite exactions, and exhort them for Gods sake and for their own peace and safety, to use their Subjects and Tenants like men, not like beasts made for the yoke and the slaughter: If *Anabaptism*, being a doctrine of licentiousness and libertinage, was readily

dily imbraced by a multitude that groaned under a miserable bondage, none needs to wonder.

As for the *Switzers*, their popular State, together with the contagion of the neighbouring *Germany*, made way for that popular doctrine, 200 years before they had killed or ejected all their Nobility, by whom they were heavily opprest: And now the lower sort of people being bred in an (*i*) ancient hatred ag^t inst Superiors, imbraced that (*i*) Be-
doctrine greedily, which armed the Commons ^{were of} _{that ill} ^{humour} against their Magistrates.

But it must be acknowledged to the praise of that State, that the Ecclesiastical and Political body sett^e opposed *Anabaptism* with great virtue and vigor, ^{not with} and so justified to the world that they were as ^{us} great enemies to confusion as their forefathers h^d been to oppression.

To clear the Reformed Religion from that wicked imputation, that it give countenance to these rebellions and new doctrines, the *Anabaptists* will serve; for they hated *Luther* worse than the (*k*) Pope, and troubled the Evangeliques more (*k*) so than the Papists; And when they would insinuate the Quakers here themselves into the Reformed States, with a seeming familiarity, they h^d but rough entertainment ^{ne quid} _{durius dicam.} among them, *Familiares accipere haud familiariter*. What conferences past between them, and what pains the Reformed took to confute them, the lasting Monuments will shew, which are extant in the writings of *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Melancthon*, *Zwinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Lavaterus*, *Bullinger*, *Ursinus* and *Gastio*.

CHAP. II.

The first occasions and seeds of Anabaptism, The insurrection of Muncer, and Phiser.

IN the year 1521 *Luther* being proscribed by *Charls the 5. Emperor*, was secretly conveyed away out of *Wittemberg*, by *Frederick Duke of Saxonie*. In his absence *Andreas Carolstadius* one of the Ministers of *Wittemberg*, began to preach some new doctrines of his own, and being a passionate man, stirred the people to pull down (a) Images out of Churches in a tumultuous manner. *Luther* for that chief reason being called to *Wittemberg* again by his friends, condemned the proceedings of *Carolstadius*, saying, That although he himself hated Images, and wisht them abolished, yet it ought to have been done orderly, removing them first out of the minds of the people, and teaching them that by Faith only we please God, and that Images are of no use in Religion: That the Consciences being thus informed and settled, Images would fall down of themselves: Also that when Images should be removed, he would have it done by the Magistrate, not by a popular sedition, holding it a matter of dangerous consequence to set the people on work about any publicke action, which should be done by the hand of Authority.

About the same time a new Sect was springing in *Saxony*, of some fanaticall people, boasting that they

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they talked with God, and (*b*) God with them, who (*b*) En-commanded them to kill all the wicked and make a new World, wherein the innocent and godly should live and reign alone; of which opinion *Carolostadius* was either the author or the abettor: And when he could not get that doctrine received at *Wittemberg*, where *Luther* was too strong for him, he left *Wittemberg*, and resorted to these new brethren.

It is hard to say whether *Carolostadius* or one *Nicholas Stock*, was the first founder of *Anabaptism*. *Melancthon* saith that *Nicholas Stock* was he that beg. n. He would say that God spake to him by an (*c*) Angel, and revealed him his will in (*c*) so dreams, promising him the place of the Angel *Gabriel*, and the Empire of the World. He taught that the Saints must reign in the World, and that he must be their leader, to kill all the Kings and Princes of the World, and repurge the Church: He took upon him to have the gift of discerning the Spirits, and know the Elect; he made holiness to consist in speaking little, and living homely and (*d*) sordidly.

In that mans school was *Thomas Munzer* bred, who amplified much his Masters doctrine. He began to preach at *Alset* a City in the borders of *Thuringia*, belonging to the Elector of *Saxony*; great teaching that the burden of the Pope was too heavy, and that of *Luther* too light; that his consorts must have a new Baptism; That Christians must be of an austere countenance, speak little and wear long beards; This he calls the cross and the mortification of the flesh: Also that they ought to

retire into desarts or private places, there to think of God, and ask him signs, whether he think of them, and whether they be in the right Religion : He ascribed much unto dreams, saying that God declareth his will that way, and praised openly in his Sermons such as had dreamed a dream that bore some explication.

Anno
1525.

In that City of *Alstet* he began first to make a confederacie, administering an Oath and taking the names of all them that promised to assist him in his design of killing all the ungodly Princes and Magistrates, and erecting new ones in their places. So long as he was content to preach of dreams and the like matters of less consequence, *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony* bore with him ; but when he began to preach sedition, he banished him out of his dominions : And he having lyen hid some months, came to *Nurenberg*, and being driven thence also, came to *Mulhus*, a town of *Thuringia*, where many of his old Disciples when he was at *Alstet*, resorted to him again.

Luther hearing of this, writes to the Magistrates and Senate of the Town, that they should not harbour *Muncer*, as they loved their own safety, describing withall the mans doctrine and conditions, and exhorting them to ask *Muncer* who had given him authority to preach, and if he could shew ^(e) ordinary calling, that then they should ^{many cal-} eject him. The Senate of *Mulhus* needed not many persuasions, for they liked not that new ghest : But *Muncer* was too quick for them, for he so wrought upon the people in a short time, that they

with
such the
ordinary
way.

they put down the Magistrates and set others in their place of their own faction. Not long after they drove the Fryars away, and seized on their houses, of which the best was given to *Muncer*, who bore himself no more as a meer Preacher, but as a Senator; for he judged of all things out of the Bible and (f) Divine revelations; and whatsoe-
(f) Ver-
bum scri-
ptum, &
non scri-
ptum,
ver he determined was received as an Oracle; especially when he preached that all goods must be common; (g) and all men free and of equal digni-
(g) Thus far
Papists.
ty: An acceptable doctrine in those parts where the Nobility and Gentry used their Tenants and Vassals like slaves, and opprest them with multitude of impositions and services. No wonder if that new Gospel won the meanest sort, who presently left working, and what they wanted they took by open force from them that had it.

(h) At the same time in *Suavia*, and *Franconia*, (h) Pre-
40000 Boors and Tradesmen rose up in arms, kil-
led and ranscked great part of the Nobles, took ^{med.} _{of bloud-} many Forts and Castles, over-
pillaged and burnt ^{med.} _a wonder throwing all in their way like a sudden inundation; in Eng-
for when the banks of Authority are once beaten ^{land.}
down, nothing can stop the popular fury, till they lose themselves in their own confusion (i).

Muncer then thought it was time for him to do the like; he layeth up abundance of Ammunition, maketh his Magazine in the Covent of *Franciscans*, casteth artillery, raiseth a numerous multitude of men, the mean People leaving their loom and their plough, to turn venturers in this holy war.

His chief associate was *Phifer*, one that gave much

much credence to dreams and night visions, and among other Visions, would say, that he had seen in his dream a great company of Rats in a Stable, and had driven them all away; Which he interpreted as a command from God to take arms and dispossess all the Nobility and Gentry: This *Phifer* was the stouter of the two; for although *Muncer* was vehement in his Sermons to the people, yet he would not try the hazard of a battel, till all the neighbouring Countries were joyned with him. To which end he sent divers Letters to the diggers of Mines, of which the County of *Mansfield* is full, exhorting them seriously to fall upon their Princes and cut them off, that so his Partie in *Franconia*, which looked but for his call, might have a free passage into *Thuringia*; But *Phifer* impatient of delayes, rusheth into the Country of *Isfield*, pillageth Castles and Churches, destroyeth many of the Nobles, brings some of them bound, and returneth with a great booty; which success raised the minds of the Boors, and caused another defection in the County of *Mansfield*. So *Muncer* hoping that the Rebellion was universal, taketh his journey from *Mulhus*, and is presently supplied with a company of *Frankhusians*.

But before this Snow-ball could grow by rolling, the Count *Mansfield* stopt its course; for having raised in haste some Companies of Horse, he falls upon *Muncer*, and killeth two hundred of his men, at which the rude unexperienced Boors were so terrified, that they all fled away to *Frankhus*, there to expect a greater supply, though they were men enough,

enough, but (as it seems) Souldiers few or none. This only skirmish broke the edge of their fury, and gave time to *John Elector of Saxonie* (newly come to that dignity, by the death of his brother *Frederick*) and his Uncle *George of Saxonie*, *Philip Lentgrave of Hesse*, and *Henry Duke of Brunswick*, to raise fifteen hundred Horse and a few Companies of Infantry.

The Boors were pitched upon a hill by *Frankhus*, pretty well intrenched within their own Carts, but very ill armed, and worse disciplined. The Princes, though slenderly attended, contemned, and pitied together that rude troop, and sent to offer them impunitie and a general p'rdon, if they would but yeild the authors of the sedition and return home: But *Muncer* understood not that Gospel, that one man should die for the Nation. He falls to preaching, and expounds that sollicitation of the Princes, as an argument of their weakness and fearfulness; Tels the Boors that he was sent from God to command and le'd them in this action: That their part was to obey like *Abraham*, who being commanded to kill his son, went about it, though he was uncertain of the event; That they should certainly overthrow both these and all other enemies of God, it being Gods promise that the righteous shall wash his foot in the bloud of the wicked, ^(k) *Go-* vernours and that the meek shall inherit the earth; ^(k) That oppres- these Princes were but Tyrants and Theeves, suck- ^{ions fir} ing the bloud of the people, to live at ease and ^{or last} maintain their pride and wantonness; That they of many maintained the Mass, and therefore deserved to mischiefs be

be exterminated: Then he exhorted them to be valiant in the Lord, and kill every mothers son of their enemies, for an acceptable sacrifice unto God; assuring them that God himself that cannot lye, had promised him victory, and commanded him to destroy Princes and Magistrates, endowing him with such strength that he was able to turn all their bullets back with his coat; Hereupon perceiving a Rain-bow in the (1) Skie, and turning his eyes towards his Colours, where a Rain-bow was painted; Look up (said he) to Heaven; here is for you a joyful sign of Gods favour, that Rain-bow the very emblem of our Colours; and be sure that God promiseth us that he will be our Standard-bearer and fight for us himself; Come then let's fight valiantly under Gods Standard.

(1) The Devil is Prince of the air, Eph. 2. 2. &c.
Xav. & Eustas Fass. O.

That new piece of imposture made a strong impression in some. Yet the Princes drawing near with a warlick march, made a stronger impression of fear in these rude Souldiers, than *Muncer's* revelations and signs; for the Princes were incensed by a late cruel treachery of *Muncer*, who had put to death against the Law of Arms and Nations, a hopefull young Gentleman sent to him to treat of agreement. The Princes began to play with their

(m) Men of disorder can not keep order. Ordnance. I cannot say to (m) break, the ranks of the Boors, for they keep neither Rank nor File, and scarce keep their understanding, for they neither advanced, nor fled, nor put themselves in defence, but fell a singing, *Come Holy Ghost*, expecting that God should fight for them from Heaven, according to *Muncer's* promise: But when their intrench-

trenchments of Carts was broken, and the Princes army came to handy blows, away fled all the boors, some one way, some another, but the most part to *Frankbus*; 5000 of them were slain, *Frankbus* taken the same day, and 300 men taken and executed.

Muncer was found hid at *Frankbus*, and lying on a bed faigning himself to be one of the Town that had been long sick of an ague, which his quaking for fear did imitate to the life; but letters being found about him from *Albert of Mansfeld*, to dissuade him from his seditious courses, he was known to be *Muncer*, which yet this lying Prophet denied long.

Being brought before Duke *George of Saxony*, and the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, and demanded why he misled the simple people to sedition; He answered that he had done no more than his duty; and that Magistrates that receive not the doctrine of the Gospel, must be dealt with by such wayes: These reasons of his were confuted by the Rack, where when he cryed out, Duke *George* told him, Thou sufferest now *Muncer*; but think how many poor people have suffered by thee this day; At which *Muncer* laughed aloud and said, *Why, they would have it so*, meaning that the people loved to be cozened and misled, and that nothing could win their hearts but sedition.

Shortly after *Phifer* and other heads of the rebellion were executed at *Mulhus*, and *Muncer* a while after, who shewed a great deal of dejection and perturbation in his end, and could not so much

(n) The
magi-
strates
sword by
Gods
blessing
may do
good ;
Babylons
prison
made

Manasseh
fitter for
a Throne.

as make confession of his Faith , with much ado could he speak after the Duke of Brunswick who taught him what he should say ; Yet when he was ready to be executed , he (n) acknowledged his error openly , and made an exhortation to the Princes and Nobles , to use their subjects and vassals with more moderation ; which if they did , the people would break no more into such rebellions and outrages ; he desired them diligently to read the book of Kings , there to learn their duty , and Gods judgements against injustice and oppression . He was beheaded , and his head set on a high pole in the fields .

In the mean while *Luther* , because he was famed by the Papists , as the author or occasion of those troubles , was sending godly exhortations over all *Germany* , to exhort the commons to peace and obedience to their Superiors , and rather to suffer for righteousness , than defend the Truth with unrighteousness ; and that this was the Devils cunning to raise sedition by false brethren , to bring the Truth of God into hatred and obloquie .

And to the commons of *Suevia* , that had been up in armes before *Munster* , and continued still in rebellion , he writ a grave admonition , represent-

(o) The
Judge
must
hang a
Thief; and
he law
fully
commis-
sioned.

ing that although they were opprest by their Princes , who therefore deserved to be punish't , yet it belonged not to them to do the execution ; (o) That they must not believe the Sermons of every preacher ; for Satan (saith he) under colour of the Gospel hath in these times raised many seditious and bloody teachers ; You are opprest by your

your Superiours that take your estates from you, *nota bene.*
that do unjustly; but you do more unjustly to take
that Jurisdiction from them which is none of yours;
And whereas they take but few things from you by
exactions and too great burdens, you take all from
them when you take away their authority: Is this
obeying Christ who commands us not to resist evill,
but to him that striketh us on the one cheek to turn
the other, and let him that will take our Coate, to
take our Cloake also? Nay, it is the duty of Christians
to suffer and undergo the Crois, not to resist
and seek revenge and smite with the sword; When
Peter would fight to save his Master, a lawfull de-
fence if ever was any, He bids him not to strike with
the sword, because that striking was opposing the
Magistrate for a private revenge; and to such op-
posers of the Magistrate that Sentence belongeth,
They that strike with the sword, shall perish with
the sword: But I perceive the Devils plot, that since
he could not destroy me by the Pope, he seeks to
undo me by these violent bloud-thirsty preachers:

(p) And do you take heed of them, for they cast (p) Any
you headlong into a precipice, that they may rise ^{way so it} be done,
by your fall, and get honors and dignities with ^{pleases} him.
your peril.

That *Suevian* Rebellion was soon after supprest,
partly by the vigorous opposition of the Princes,
partly by their own weariness and disorder, the
limbs of that faction dropping off here and there,
like a rotten carcase that can no longer hang to-
gether. (q)

<sup>(q) Malum
malum de-</sup>
firuit. Snared in the work of his own hands, *Psal. 9.16.*

Mancer

Muncer and his associates being punisht, *Carolo-stadius* was not far from the like danger; for having left *Wittemberg* where he feared *Luther*, he kept conventicles in *Saxony*, associating himself with frantick men that boasted of Visions, and Colloquies with God, and a particular spirit; There also he writ a bitter book against *Luther*, and against his own Prince, for which misdemeanours he was sought to be executed with *Muncer's* complices; In that extreamity he called upon *Luther's* help, whom he had so much provoked, and was saved by his intercession. (r)

(r) He-roick,

CHAP. III.

The growth of Anabaptisme, The Tragical disorders committed at Munster.

TH E root and branch of fanatical factions seemed then to be cut off, but the seeds remained, and brought forth many new twigs of the same kinde: Presently after *Muncer*, one of greater learning and parts, began to preach the same doctrine at *Strasburg*, and was imprisoned for it by the Rulers of the City; his name was *Melchior Hopman*: And scarce two years after *Muncer*, *Germany* was full (a) of *Anabaptists*; A new name then, but in effect the old sect of *Muncer*, with some additions. (b) They denied the incarnation of Christ in the holy Virgins womb, condemned the

Anno
1527.
(a) Ill
weeds
grow
apace.

(b) There is a resurrection of error as well as of truth.

Baptism

Baptisme of Children, and re-baptized themselves, and all that embraced their sect: They would not allow Christians to recover their own by Law, nor to take an Oath, nor bear the Office of Magistrate, and they pulled down Magistrates by way of fact where they had strength, and gave the power of the sword to their Ministers and Prophets, who decided all differences, and judged of all cases by Scripture, and undertook to kill all the Princes of the World, and cut off all the ungodly with another sword than that of the Spirit: They taught that in their Church all were holy, that none can be saved that will not make his private goods common, that it is lawfull to have many wives, that all learning is prophane, and that mean ignorant men are the fittest to expound Scripture, that there must be no ordinary calling in the Church, but every one may speak as he is inspired by the Holy Ghost; that Christ must reign over all the World, and therefore all other Kings and Princes, and their adherents must be slain, till there be none left to reign but Christ; and what they taught they went really about to practise.

Melchior Hopman being kept prisoner at *Strasburg*, and his Sect severly represt by the wise Magistrate; that crew dispersed it self in *Westphalia*, *Frise*, *Holland*, and most part of the *Low Countreys*; where they got a very great party, yet among the common sort of people onely. *Lambertus Hertenfius* one of my Authors affirmeth confidently, that among that numerous rabble of seditious people, not one was found that ever was a Schollar, and

C very

very few that could read or write. When they were confuted by reasons or testimonies of Scripture, their answer was, that the Spirit taught them otherwise, and that the Spirit bloweth where he listeth, and doth not inspire every one.

These fancies were increased by one *George of Leyden*, with many gross and monstrous Additions: The sect by his seduction in short time grew so strong, as to despise all Rule, all Judges, and all Courts, and chuse private Rulers among themselves, who determined of all causes, and fate upon life and death.

But their rage could not keep long at home; They would sometimes rush out of Cities in great troops, and ransack Convents and Rich mens houses, taking for their warrant the example of the Israelites, that took the spoyl of the Egyptians: Yet in these incursions they made Conscience at the first to enter into any Temple of those that were not rebaptized, but made no conscience to lye with their wives as left for a prey to the godly.

This was their preparation for the day of Judgment, about which they had many revelations: One of their Prophets proclaimed that within three days the last judgment should come (*c*);

C. dooms day Sedgw. This made many of them to leave their houses, and get up into high trees there to expect the Coming of Christ; but having expected three days fasting, they returned faint and weak, and met with another Judgment at home; for the Magistrate inquired after the Authors and promoters of that delusion, and punished them.

Of all Cities of the Low-Countries, *Amsterdam* was most pestered with that sect, the great concourse and traffick giving them fair opportunity to resort to that famous place: Where being many times represt with fines and imprisonments and wholesome severity, they would disperse themselves over the Country, filling all with clamour, scattering papers in the high ways, threatening ruine and destruction to all that would not adhere to them, and leave lands and houses to come out of *Babylon*; for *Babylon* they would overthrow; and within the circuit of *Babylon*, they included all Magistracy and Civil Government, and all wealth and greatness; A great quarrel they had with the *Babylonian Gold*.

But the whole World was little enough for their ambition. It was their serious intent to make themselves masters of the World, which they both professed and attempted, beginning their Empire at *Munster* in *Westphalia*.

It grieveth me to say that in *Munster*, truth made way for error: For in the year 1532, one *Bernard Ratman* came to S. *Maurice* Church hard by *Munster*, where he preached good doctrine and converted many, so that the people would have him admitted into the City; Which the Papists fearing, gave him a summe of Money, upon condition he should go to some other place, which he did, and absented himself for some months, in which time he improved his gifts and learning, and returned again better furnishit to encounter the adversary.

Being received at Saint Maurice with greater applause than before, some Citizens of the best sort brought him into the City, and because the Church doors were shut against him they made him a Pulpit in the Church-yard, and shortly after told the Papists, that if they would not open the door of some Church, they would open it themselves. *Rotman* seeing the progress of the Reformation, sends to *Hasse* for some help, and they sent to him two Divines of *Marpurg*; With these by the counsel and uthority of the best in the Town, he challenged Papists in dispute, and presented thirty Articles of Papistical errors to the Senate, offering to prove that they were contrary to holy Scripture: The Senate sends for the Clergy of the City, and requireth them that since they had always profest that their doctrine was grounded upon holy Writ, they would now make it good: The Clergy finding themselves unexpectedly put to it, answered plainly that it was more than they could, and that they were sure they had a good intention, though there might be ignorance and error in their profession.

(d) *Igno-
rantia
mater de-
votionis.* (d): Whereupon the Senate interdicted them to teach the People any more, and gave their places to the new teachers that had detected the impostures of the old.

The expulsed Clergy retire to their Bishop and Prince, (for the Bishop of *Munster* is Prince of the City.) The then Bishop was Count *Francis Waldeck*, to whom *Frederick* Archbishop of *Collen* had lately yeilded the place. The Bishop presently stops all the passages of Victuals to the City, and raiseth

raiseth some forces to compel the Citizens to restore all things in the former State. But the Citizens by a night enterprize, took his best men, and the richest of the Popish party lying in a little Town, whence the Bishop was gone the day before: This give occasion to parley and a Composition, by the mediation of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, wherein it was agreed upon, that six Churches ^{This 2.} should be given to the Reformed party, and that ^{the} Cathedral should remain as it was before. <sup>ment
was</sup>

Hitherto all was well, if it could have staid there; ^{made} But before the swinge of the former commotion ^{Feb. 14.} was well staid, there comes to the Town in an ill 1538. hour, a pestilent *Anabaptist*, a Taylor of *Leyden*, *John Be cold*, better known by the name of *John of Leyden*: This man begins to confer with Ministers and People, about the Baptism of Children, maintaining it to be unlawful, seducing many, and sowing the new Lump of that Church with the Leaven of his pervers doctrine: with him or presently after him came a very great multitude of his fraternity, most of them *Hollanders*. These keeping conventicles in the night, got a great party in the City, and incensed one another with desperate resolutions. They had with them one *Herman Strapeda*, brought up under *Henry Rell*, who had been lately executed at *Utrecht*, for preaching *Anabaptism* and sedition; At the feet of that *Gamaliel*, one may think what doctrine he had learned: This man they got to be chosen colleague to *Rotman*, before his heresie was known; but he made it known presently preaching openly against

the Baptism of children, and none more eager to oppose him than *Rotman*: The Magistrates and people not yet infected with that new doctrine, feeling so much distraction arising among themselves, commanded the Forreiners and Sectaries to go out of the City; but they went out at one gite, and came in again at the other, saying, that they must not desert Gods cause, but do the work which God had given them to do: The Senate to prevent a sedition, appointed the *Evangelicks* and the *Anabaptists* to meet in a publick Conference; and there *Rotman* betrayed the good cause, and disputed contrary to his preaching, condemning the baptism of children as impious and execrable; But he was so well opposed by a worthy Divine *Hermannus Basilius*, that the Senate was satisfied, and concluded for the Truth, and the Teachers *Anabaptists* were sentenced to be banished: Who when they alleadged that they could not safely travel through the Bishops dominions, the Senate obtained a safe conduct for them, & gave them mony for their journey. But they being resolved before not to go away, lay lurking among their Sectaries, which increased so fast, (the mean people of the Town being seduced every day, and strangers flocking to the Town continually in great troops) that the Magistrates fearing lest the *Anabaptists* should drive the *Evangelicks* out of their Churches, kept all the Churches shut up but one.

In this distressed case of their Church and State, the Landgrave of *Hesse* sent them at the request of the Senate, two Divines, *Theodoricus Fabritius*,

3rd

and *Johannes Melsingerius*; But the last seeing the deplorable face of busineses in that place, and fearing his own danger, returned home: *Fabritius* remained, and among so much contradiction discharged the part of a worthy champion of Jesus Christ, till the *Anabaptists* having got the upper hand, thrust him and all the *Evangelicks* out of the City. And to set a bound to the unlimited extravagancie of the Anabaptistical spirit, he composed a book of *Common-prayers*, with the Form of administering the Sacraments and performing other Ecclesiastical duties, and it was published by the authority of the Senate.

There was also another worthy Divine, *Peter Wirtem*, who having been silenced by the *Anabaptists*, was now by the Semite and people allowed to preach again: But he was no Preacher for the new brethren; they turned him out of office presently, at the instigation of *Rotman*, who soon after provoked *Fabritius* and his colleagues to dispute: *Fabritius* accepted the challenge, and the Senate appointed a Conference, naming some learned and good men to be the Umpires; But *Rotman* and his brethren fearing the Touch, begin to find exceptions and devise shifts to avoid the dispute, whereby they lost much credit among the people.

To wipe off that stain, they took a more compendious course: One of them faining himself seized with a Prophetical spirit ran through the (e) No. City, crying, Repent, and be baptiz'd again, now else the wrath of God will fall upon you: This thing.

(f) Interest their God.

stirred the people, and many ran also with him, crying the same words: Many of the simpler sort were rebaptized for fear of the wrath of God, and many more for fear of the wrath of men (f): For this crying and running through the streets, ended in ransacking the best houses, and laying violent hands on the owners. Then many that lay hid before, came forth, and rushed into the Market place, crying out, that all that were not rebaptized must be killed presently, as Ungodly and Heathen; And seizing upon the Town-House and the weapons therein, they began to domineer as in a conquered place.

The *Evangeliques* on the other side gathered themselves in a place called *Overwater*, and took many of their enemies, and both the sides were fortifying the places where they stood: Three days they stood thus without doing any great harm one to the other, till giving hostages on both sides, they fell to a composition; That every one should enjoy the freedom of his Religion, and all should go home and live in peace. This tumult was towards the end of Decemb. 1533.

Anno
1534.

(g) They that God had sent an holy Prophet (g) to *Munster*, who spake wonders, and shewed the right way to Salvation: That if they would leave their houses and come to *Munster* in all haste, they should

should get ten times more then they left at home, and with the spiritual wealth get all worldly riches (b).

These fair promises drew all the scum of the neighbouring Towns to *Munster*, the poorest and idlest sort liking that Religion well, that maketh all men you not, alike and all goods common, and puts down those Laws and Magistrates that restrained their licentiousness. In a short time the City was full of strangers and vagrants that looked upon the City as a Land of Promise, where they must take a new plantation, and expulse the *Canaanites*. At their coming the richest of the Town, being frighted, thought it their safest course, fairly and quietly to give them place, and without noise withdrew themselves out of the City.

The *Anabaptists* seeing themselves strong, ran to Saint *Maurice* Church and burnt it with all the houses about it, pillaged all the Churches, defaced the Cathedral, depopulated the Convents and Colledges, and burnt a fair great Library belonging to the *Fryers*; And for the final exploit, drove all the *Evangeliques* out of the City, but some few (whom they mistook for *Anabaptists*) crying, Get hence all ye wicked, else you shall all be slain. And with such a violence they put them out, that some women great with child miscarried in the tumult.

In this banishment the grieved Citizens suffered double persecution; for being turned out bare by (i) *In ex-*
the *Anabaptists*, they were taken by the Bishop (i), *tremis*
who the day before had encamped before the City, *nulla sa.*
lue.

and

(b) If

finners
intice,

Prov. I.

10, &c.

אַתָּה
לְפָנֶיךָ
נָבָת

and by him used as enemies: some were in danger to have lost their heads, as the worthy Divine Peter Wirtem, who was saved by the mediation of the Lantgrave of Hessen. This forced the rest of the Evangelicks to stay in the City, though there was little choice between staying in the frying-pan, or leaping into the fire.

And now the *Anabaptists* being Masters of the City, began to order their new State; for though they were enemies to all Superiority and Order, yet necessity and Nature it self forced them to elect some Superiors of their own. They made two Consuls, *Knipperdalling* and *Kippenbrok*, and twenty two Senators or Aldermen, that had the Civil power. The Prophets were to rule matters of Re-

(k) In or-
dine ad
spiritua-
lia. Bell,
ligion, under which name they governed Church and Common-wealth; (k) for all civil matters were brought within the compass of Religion and Conscience, and whatsoever a Prophet said to be revealed unto him, past for Law.

The most famous of these Prophets was *John Matthias*, a Baker of *Hartem*, who was in effect a perpetual Dictator in *Munster*, that made Laws and changed them after his pleasure: By him was the foresaid Order made; His chief adjunct was *John of Leyden*, and the next *Bern. Knipperdalling*. By a revelation of *John Matthias*, an order was made upon pain of death, that all the gold and silver and moveable goods of the Town should be brought to the common Stock, for which they appointed a publick house: The order was obeyed, more for fear then conscience; for two maids / Prophesses

(l) The Devil
knows
how to
make
good use
of bad
women.

pheters, took upon them to find out the fraud, and the several houses were searched by a Deacon; To that common Stock were brought all the goods of those that were driven out of the City.

With that common Stock they kept four great Ordinaries in the four quarters of the Town, where all fed in common, none being allowed to diet at home, unless he were sick: Plenty of provision they had, and they husbanded it very ill, feasting every day till the Bishop that besieged them, began to cut off their victuals, and then they stinted themselves, but with too large a stint, which was to have change of meat every third day, one day fresh meat, the other day hung meat and bacon, and the third day milk, butter and cheese.

I read of no great feats of arms in this siege. Once only the Bishop received a notable repulse by *John Matthias*, who was a General as well as a Prophet; With easie labour he had so fortified the Town, which is most strong by Nature, that he had made it impregnable, so that the Bishop despairing to take it by force, went about to take it by famine. Indeed the negligence of the Besiegers and the security of the Besieged, are the only things remarkable in this siege.

The Prophets then neglecting the Bishop, converted their care to the spiritual government, and commanded that none should keep any book but ^(m) the Scripture: So all the books that could be found, but Bibles, ^(m) were brought to a publique place and a bonfire made of them.

From executing of books they fell to executing
of

(n) Sedu- of persons; (n) Hubert Truteling a Black-smith, see-
 cers grow ing Job. Matthias pass by, said, Here goeth a shitten
 & worse. (o) Prophet; For this offence he was brought to the
 Congregation and condemned to death: John Mat-
 (o) We thias would himself be the executioner, and wound-
 haveseen ed him with an Halbert; the wound being not
 shitten mortal, he brings him to another place and shoots
 Quakers, him thorow with a pistol, then taking compassion
 one com- ing into on him, he pardons him, saying, that God was ap-
 the pub- peased towards him, and that he had a revelation
 like As- that the man should not die of this, yet the poor
 sembly man died a few days after.
 on the L.

day na- To make amends for his false prophesie, He runs
 ked, and in a mad mood over all the City, bearing a Pike,
 shitten crying, that God the Father had commanded him
 up to the to drive the enemy back from the City, and so rush-
 elbows. ed alone into the enemies camp, without fear and

(p) Eve- wit, (p) and was there killed.

ry way John Matthias being dead, John of Leyden com-
 mad. forteth the people, saying, that he knew long before
 by revelation that John Matthias was to die that
 (q) Pre- death, & that himself should marry his wife (q), as
 tend the he did shortly after, though he had one before; but
 Spirit, in- this was one of singular beauty, able to make a lusty
 tend the young Prophet to set up the doctrine of Polyg my.
 Flesh.

But he fell to other work before he stirred that
 point; Knipperdelling came out wth a revelation, that
 they that were in high places should be brought
 down to the lowest, & they that were in the lowest,

(r) They raised to the highest (r). But John of Leyden met him
 wi I turn in his own kind with another revelation, that since it
 a I upside down. was Gods pleasure that those that were in the high-
 est

est places shoulde be brought down to the lowest, he was sent from God to put him down from the place of Consul, & make him the Hang-man, and to that purpose he gave him from God the sword of justice.

But there was need of more revelations for that great work of alteration of the government; *John of Leyden* was led by his prophetical spirit upon the City walls, where he put off his clothes, and ran (*s*) (*s*) ^{The old trade} naked through the City, crying, *The King of Sion* ^{old trade} is come, *The King of Sion* is come. Then returning home, he falls into a deep prophetical sleep, and (*t*) (*t*) ^{Filthy dreamers} Jude 8. dreams three days and three nights together: Being awaked, he comes forth and speaketh never a word, ^{cruelty} *Zechariah*. There he sets down twelve men, all Coblers, Tinkers, Smiths, and mean Tradesmen, but one that was a Gentleman of *Munster*; to these he assigneth the government of the Common-wealth, putting down the order set up by *John Matthias*, and affirming that this was the Fathers (*u*) good will. In that (*x*) You paper also he writeth some conclusions, which he are of chargeth the preachers to teach the people; Or else your fa- he would have them ratified by the Congregation ^{ther the Devil.} without the Preachers: The sum of all was, that a (*x*) This man is not tied to one wife, but that he may (*x*) mar- is spiritu- radox, he citeth them before his twelve Magistrates, ^{contrary} and there he recovered his tongue, keeping a great clamor, throwing down his cloths upon the ground, and the new Testament upon them, and swearing by that holy book, that the doctrine which he had announced,

announced, was revealed unto him from Heaven, and threatening them all, that if they consented not to this doctrine, God would withdraw his mercy from them. To testifie his evidence of spirit and power, he commanded the first opposer of that new Gospel to be beheaded, which was done presently.

For three days together there was preaching concerning matrimony, for the confirmation of that opinion; But the best confirmation was his practice; for presently he married three wives, one of which was the relict of that grand Prophet *Joh. Matthias*, by whom she was with child; and married again and again, till he had fifteen wives. Many followed his example, and it began to be a matter of great praise to multiply wives.

This seemeth to have been his first motive to broach that doctrine; A Souldier of the Bishops that had changed party, and was harboured where *John of Leyden* lay, observed in the night, that this holy Prophet left his bed, and went to the mids bed(y): *John of Leyden* seeing himself discovered, in the morning called the Souldier aside, and gave him gold, desiring him to keep his counsel: But after mistrusting the Souldiers tongue, he thought it fitter to countenance the f^t & by a(z) publick doctrine.

(v) D. F. bed (y) : John of Leyden seeing himself discovered, in the morning called the Souldier aside, and gave him gold, desiring him to keep his counsel: But after mistrusting the Souldiers tongue, he thought it ffer to countenance the f^t & by a (z) publick doctrine. This doctrine then w^s readily embraced by those whose age and temper was aptest to consult with flesh and blood; None restraining himself from multiplication of wives for want or covetousness; for their wives were kept upon the common Stock. Neither did they keep any face of Order or any shew of modesty in those marriages; for presently

sently after the receiving of that Law, the brethren ran to the hansomest women of the City, striving who should be served first, and lay with them without any form of contract, so that within few days there was not one woman of 14. years of age but was violated (*a*).

But those of the City that yet had some remnant of sound mind, being extreamly grieved with disorder, and groaning under that foul tyranny, made a party, and laid hold of *John of Leyden & Knipper-dolling* and all the Prophets ; which coming to the ears of the frantick rabble of people, which made the greatest number, they took arms and rescued the Prophets, and killed fifty of their adversaries, most of them in cold blood, and with several kinds of devised cruelties (*b*), *John of Leyden* encouraging the murtherers, and crying, that he that would do God service should give the first blow.

(*a*) *O-*
φιλαρμόνιος
Χορός
μεσσής
μορχαλί-
δός.

(*b*) *Sc.*

δούκες

κρεολί-

ατομά

πατέρων

πατέρων</p

which demand there was a meeting appointed to be held at Coblenz, Decemb. 13. 1534.

This long delay gave time to John of Leyden to project new designs; He declared that the Spirit of Prophesie was retired from him, and repos'd upon John Tuscourer a Goldsmith of Warendorp; And this new Prophet having called the Congregation together, declared that it was the will of the heavenly Father that John of Leyden should be (a) King of the Universe; And that with mighty Armies he should kill all Kings and Princes, and destroy all the ungodly, and save the people that love righteousness, and that he must possess the Kingdom of his Father David, till the time come that he must deli-

(a) He wil cease to be a Prophet that he may be King.
(b) The ver the Kingdom to his Father (b); And that all height of the ungodly being killed, the godly should reign in blasphemey.

the World. Whereupon John of Leyden fell on his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, said, Men and brethren, so much I knew long ago, but I would not reveal it; Now God hath made choice of another to bear witness to that truth. Then said Tuscourer again, Thus saith the Lord, As I set Saul to be King in Israel, and after him David taken from the Sheep-fold, so I have set John Becold my Prophet to be King in Sion: And when the Senate refused that prophesie, the Prophet refused the Senate, and appealed to the Congregation, saying, Give ear Israel,

(c) Sim- Thou shalt abrogate thy Magistrates, and put down ple men thy Preachers, and instead of them establish 12 sim- seduced, ple men (c) without any learning; them thou shalt great a- gents for command that they read my word unto my people, Sazar. and without any help but my spirit, expound it; into

into them will I pour the spirit of wisdom and understanding. Then giving a sword to *John of Leyden*, And to thee (saith he) Father *Becold*, the Father giveth this sword, and calleth thee not only to be King in *Sion*, but over all the World, and to extend thine Empire unto the ends of the earth.

This oracle was followed with great shoutings and acclamations of the people, crying, *God save the King*, and presently he was brought to S. *Lamberts* Church-yard, and there again proclaimed K.

There the new King created four Counsellors of State, the chief whereof was one *Gerard a Bookbinder*, one *Talbeck* he made Lord Steward of his household, *Gerard Kippenbrok* Treasurer of his Plate and Jewels, *Knipperdalling* Governor of the City, and appointed twelve Archers of his Guard.

This Taylor King presently made use of his skill to make himself fine in clothes. He translated the copes and carpets of the Churches & convents, into dublets and breeches, and cloaks, which set off his Majesty all in gold and silver. His horses wore a suitable livery, richly harnessed with golden and silver Saddles and footcloths; he had great change of rich apparel, in which he appeared abroad, having his chief Officers and Counsellors riding before him in great State. Next to him rid two young men richly attired, the one carrying a naked sword with a golden hilt, set with precious stones; the other carried a Bible and a triple Crown of gold, of exquisite work, glittering with diamonds. Himself wore a great chain of gold about his neck, like a Collar of some noble Order, with a golden Globe

having a golden Sword thorough it, hanging at the chain, with this Motto about the Globe, *Rex justicie hujus mundi*, the King of Righteousness of this world. After him followed fifty Pensioners clad with parti-coloured garments of ash-colour and grass-green, white caps, and golden rings on every finger, making the ash-colour an emblem of mortification, the grass-green of regeneration, the white caps of innocencie, the golden rings of charity: but among these prophetical riddles, he ordered his Court with so much State, and so disposed his Officers, that if he had been a King born, he could have done it no better. So much all his adversaries acknowledge. +

In that Royal array he shewed himself three times a week in publick, and went up to a high Throne set up with great magnificence: Under him sat Knipperdolling Governour of the City; and lower, his four great Counsellors of State. In that Court he ~~he~~ judged of all controversies, most of which were about divorces, for by his new orders any man that was weary of his wife might take another, & as many more ashe listed; which could not but multiply suits, and give work to the new King, and his Counsellors, and Prophets.

In that Court Knipperdolling would ever come out with some *Bedlam* rapture: Once he fell flat to the ground, and creeping upon his hands and feet, he went to several persons of the Assembly, and blowing them in the mouth, said, The Father hath sanctified thee, receive the holy Ghost; Another time he fell a dancing, saying, So I danc't once with my

my little harlot, and now the heavenly Father hath commanded me that I should dance so in the Kings presence : Another time before the King came, he sat in his chair of Majestie, and there prophe-sied that he should die and rise again, and that then the eys of the blind shoulde be open ; But the King comming, shewed him that the spirits of the Prophets must be subject unto the Prophets, for he pul-led him down and committed him to the Jail for three days.

This jolly Taylor having thus stitched up a king-dom in haste, turned his serious care to go thorow stitch with it : For that there was need of supply to remove the Bishop that hindered his work; And because all should be done in a Prophetical way, *Tuiscocurer*, his chief agent, came to him (as it seems by his appointment) one day as he was sitting in his Throne with more than ordinary Majestie, and told him, King *John*, the Gospel must be renewed by thee ; Thus saith the Lord God, Go and say to the King of *Sion*, that he prepare my holy Supper in the Church-yard of the great Church, and that he chuse Teachers of my word, to send into the four Cuarters of the World, to teach all men the ways of righteousness, and bring them by the spirit of their mouth into my Sheepfold : so a publick Communion was celebrated, but they made it a full meal ; A great feast (*r*) it was, both for the persons and the meat, for they were above four thousand men, and had three courses: But between these courses, there was a foul entercourse, for the King accused a man of Treason, and cut off his head with his own

s e a v t u s
n o i p u -
l o r t e s .

*t Quis ta- lia sando temperet a lacry-
miu !*

** Where
will they
stop.*

*w Our
Quakers
have
men
every
where.*

*x The
Apostles
dusk
more
tread-
ful the
gold.*

hand, and returned merry to supper; Then with his bloody hand he took upon him to administer the body and blood of Christ (*j*), assisted with the Queen (sometime *John Marthae* his wife) who then did the office of the Minister or Deacon, and administered the Communion (*t*); the like did the principal officers of the State, saying, Take this and announce the Lords death.

After supper, the King asked the whole Congregation, whether they were all heartily disposed to do Gods Will, and to suffer and die for the faith; to which the people answered with one voice that they were all in that mind; then *Tuiscoccurer* arose and said, Thus saith the Lord, chuse men among my people, to send into the 4 quarters of the world, (*u*) to do great wonders among the nations, & publish my wonderous things among the strange people; then he read a note of the names of those whom God had chosen for that legation (*w*) of whom himself was one; they were 26. (*Sleydan* saith two more) 7 were sent to *Osnburge*, 6 to *Ceesweld*, 5 to *Warendorp*, 8 to *Suzat*; To them the King gave certain pieces of Gold, with this inscription on the one side, *Unless one be born by water and by the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*. On the other side, *The Word was made flesh, one God, one Faith, one Baptism*. They were to present that coin to every Town where their doctrine was not received, and leave (*x*) it there for a Testimony against them.

These new Apostles went into the Cities where they were sent, crying in the streets that the people should

should repent, and join with them, else they should shortly perish. With that noise having raised a tumult, they were apprehended & brought to the Magistrates, before whom they spread a cloak upon the ground, and threw their coin upon it ; saying, that they were sent by the Father to offer them peace, which if they refused, they would leave that coin amongst them as a pledge of Gods wrath against their ungratefulnes and hardnes of heart. That the time was come, foretold by the prophets, that the whole world should follow righteousness which God would work by their King, and when he had made righteousness to reign over all the world, that then he should give up the Kingdom unto his Father.

Being questioned by the Magistrates, first with trick of fair words, and after by tortures, about their faith, ^{all Seduc-} ^{cers.} their conversation, and the state of the City of ^{facit} *Munster*, they answered that *none in the world but z Causa*, ^{Marty-} *they (y)*, had the true Doctrine, which they were *non pœna*, ^{rem.} ready to seal with their blood (*z*) : that since the Apostles time the word of God had not been pure-ly preached, and no justice was in the earth : That there was four great Prophets ; two good, *David of a True Delft*, and *John of Leyden* ; and two bad, the *Pope*, ^{Religion} and *Luther* ; but *Luther the worst of the tw^b (a)*. more hated than fals by Sedu-
Being asked by what Scripture they could justifie their unjust dispossessing of so many good men from their houses and goods, and making bold with their wives, They answered that the time was come foretold by Christ, that *the meek (b)* shall inherit in ^{b Meek} ^{with a} the earth; That in the same manner God had given witness.

c Mad
men
reckon
madly.

d Poor
encou-
rage-
ment for
women
to follow
their
precious
ways.

e They
can
down
with
their
own.

the goods of the Egyptians to the *Israelites*, and among the goods (c) they reckoned the wives; That they might lawfully take many wives, upon condition they should lye with them all till they were with childe; and when one was with child, they might take a new one in her stead. That they held women at 12 yearr of age, to be fit for husbands. That they put away barren women, or past child-bearing, and committed them to curators, as being good for nothing (d).

As for the provision of the Town, they said that S. James Church was all full of Malt. That they had barly for two years, and many thousand quarters of meal, and great store of Bacon; A false relation, for soon after they fell to eating of dogs and leather in *Munster*. They constantly affirmed that their King expected a great army out of *Holland* and *Frize*, which as soon as it was come, he would begin his expedition to subdue the world, and kill all Kings for their perverse administration of justice, and that they knew by revelation that their King of *Sion* would shortly be King of the whole earth. They persisted in denying all Magistrates but their own King (e), for which they were put to death, as enemies of all laws and order, and brands of sedition; and there was an end of that Apostleship, that should have preached a Gospel of rebellion over all the world.

This legation was in October 1534. at which time *Munster* began to be short of victuals: this occasioned a plot of some of the Town to take the King, and send him bound to the Bishop. The plot was discovered

discovered to the King, who thought it not safe to make the Authors known; only he committed the Town and himself to twelve trusty Captains, to whom he divided a government in the air of several Provinces, sparing no Prince but the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, whom he hoped to draw to his party; And with his smooth tongue he pacified the people, assuring them that by Easter they should certainly be delivered from all their enemies.

The Princes of the Empire, seeing their danger, if this pretended King of the world came out and met with his confederates, met at *Goblents* as they had appointed, and took a course for the Bishops help, and the straight besieging of the Town; and sent letters to the people of *Munster* to represent them their fault and their danger; and that if they did not submit to their natural Prince, they should draw all the forces of the Empire upon them. This was about the end of *December, 1534.*

They answered many words in commendation of their holy purpose, yet nothing to the purpose, and sent private letters besides to the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, to perswade him to join with them, for the killing of all the wicked, and establishing the Kingdom of the righteous in the world; and they sent him a book of that argument, whose title was, *De restitutione* (f): the Lantgrave caused it to be answered by his Divines.

To draw towards the last Acts of that wild King, thought among the Prophets that were taken, one called of it now *Henry Hilversum* was saved by the Bishop, who after some private conference with him, let him go;

f They
should
have

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kss.

And he returning to *Munster*, said, that God had delivered him out of prison by an Angel like *Peter*, and had sent him to announce to the King that he had given him three rich Cities, *Amsterdam*, *Deventer*, and *Wesel*, which should shortly embrace his party: The King gladly received *Hilversum*, and made him one of his Court, and presently dispatched one *James of Kemp* to *Amsterdam* to bring that City to his obedience; which he was like to have done, having by his seditious doctrine stirred the most part of the people against the Magistrate, but that the Count of *Hochstral*, Governour of *Holland*, opposed them with great wisdom and with a high hand.

Soon after *John of Leyden*, hearing a report that many of his sect in *Holland* and *Frize*, were wandering in great Troops like sheep having no shepherd, sent them one *John Giles* that had some skill in war, with a great sum of money, charging him that like another *Moses*, he would be their leader in the wilderness (g), and bring them to *Canaan*, that is, to *Munster*. But when much time past, and he heard nothing of those wandring *Israelites*, nor of their *Moses*, he sent the Prophet *Henry Hilversum*, and one *John Nortell* into *Holland* and *Frize*, to hasten them, or raise new troops.

g
Every
true
there
they
were.

For that expedition he had loaden *Henry Hilversum* with so much Gold that he could scarce go, wherefore he went no further than the Bishops camp, where he stayed. *John Nortell* went as far as *Deventer*, and soon after returned without effect. *Hilversum* writ a sensible letter to the people of *Munster*,

Munster, wherein he acknowledged that his former Prophesies were impostures, and exhorted them to open their eys to see how they were deluded by a company of Rascals; what beastly life they led, having violated all Laws of pudicity and honesty, and what danger they were in, of a miserable destruction.

These letters moved the hearts of many that already were weary of that life; for their publike ordinary grew short, and was reduced to one meal a day, and a short one, where their community of goods was violated; for every one had his bread by weight: But while they fasted in the Town, they feasted in the Court, for the King fared sumptuously to the very last. Which one of his wives disliking, said once, that she thought not that such a course was pleasant to God, that in the publike misery, while some pined for hunger, others should surfe with plenty. The King being told of it, brought her to the market place with his other wives, made her kneel down, and cut off her head, then made his other wives to sing and give praises for it to their heavenly father. Then he led a dance (*b*), and commanded all the people to dance, and rejoice with him, though the poor people had no great heart to dance, being fed with bread and salt only.

*b A mad
dance
from
first to
last.*

At the same time two young men of the Town, weary of that fare, were taken running away, and brought back unto the King, who killed them both; All are with his own hand. And to appease the people, of whom many began to repent (*i*) of their error, and murmured against him, he made them a fine speech, saying that he would never have thought that they way.

being

*All are
not left
that are
gone out
of the
way..*

being born again by a new Baptism, would shew themselves so impatient in their sufferings for Gods cause, whereas they should have followed *Pauls* example, bearing hunger, nakedness and cold, to attain to the haven of salvation (k). That God was powerful enough to send them Manna and Quails from heaven. That he had great troops in *Holland* and *Frize* that would certainly come with great provision of victual, and beat the enemie back. That God had revealed unto him, that at Easter they should be delivered for certain.

To confirm the people, he would from that time appear every day abroad in his greatest glory, and made his Queen shew her self often with a crown of gold on her head, and royally attired and attended, and she became that pomp very well for she was of an exquisite beauty; Himself altered one point of his ordinary pomp; for whereas the Bible was carried before him at his right hand, and a naked sword on the left, he transferred the Sword (l)

I The sword is to the right hand, of which he gave this reason, that the Gospel had been presented to the impenitent world, but now the Sword came in the place, to destroy those that had rejected the Gospel. With such toys and riddles he fed the eyes and the ears of the hungry people, much like the *Lydians* that invented games to pass away their hunger in a year of famine.

Well, Easter came, and no help came; this put our Prophet King to his plunge; he shut himself up, fainting to be sick, for six days; then he came forth and said to the people, that in his sickness God had

set

set him upon a blind Ass (*m*), and laid upon him the ^m Truer, fins of the whole multitude, whereby they were all had judicially made clean and free from their sins, and that was made the deliverance which God had promised them at him ^a Easter. Sure if ever there was a false Christ (*n*) this blind was one. Much did he rely upon the negotiation of *Asse.*
Jo. Geles whom he dayly expected, believing as it was true, that he had a great party in *Holland* and ^{" Ano-} ^{ther e.} *Frize*: And indeed *Geles* did all that the wit of man gregious could do to raise troops for his King in those Coun- in the tries, which he put all in combustion, as we shall ^{West} hear in the following Chapter. But he was killed in ^{Coun-} ^{try. vi.} a tumult which he had raised in *Amsterdam*, and ^{Ellis his} some troops of his confederates that were coming ^{Pseudo-} to relieve *Munster*, were defeated in *Frize* at ^{christus} ^{1650.} *Balswerd.*

This poor Lord of misrule, hearing those ill news cast off all hope, and could no more put a good face to his desperate case; For famine was fierce in the town, bread was spent long ago; horses, dogs, and cats were consumed, the grafts and the very roots were pickt out of the ground: and the people solicited from the camp, but more by their own extremity, were taking counsel to take the King, and deliver him to the enemie, to buy their peace. In that extremity the King commands the gates to be set ^o Mercie open, and that as many as would should go forth: ^{to many,} justice So in one day a thousand of all ages and sexes went ^{on few,} out of the Town, and yeilded to the mercy of the ^{is both} Prince, who mildly received them (*o*), fed them, and ^{good po-} let them go. ^{licie and christ a-}

A few days after, famine increasing in the Town, ^{nity,} ^{the}

the King proclaimed that as many as wanted faith in Gods help, should void the Town, saying withall, that those that should forsake the faith, should be forsaken of God(p). Many were so blindly zealous, that this speech staid them, & they chose rather to perish in the Town, than seem to forsake the faith, yet many weary to feed upon starved mice, and broiled shoes, and lean Prophesies, harkened to good counsel, and took the safety that was offered them. *Antonius Corvinus* a Lutheran Divine writes, that he hath seen books whose covering was eaten in the famine, and that when the town was taken, children half eaten were found in corners. Yet in that general famine, the King had six months provision left, and kept a good table to the very last.

They had not held out so long, but that the Princes met at Coblenz, could not agree about the contribution, and so the siege went but slowly on; but the Emperour made them meet again at Wormes in Aprill, where fifty thousand crowns a month were granted to the Bishop for five months, and it was ordered that after the taking of the Town, the innocent people should be spared, and that all the good Citizens that were come out, or kept in by force, should have restitution of all their goods. By order of the Princes, the Army was delivered to Obersteyne, who because the pay was slow, which made the Soldiers (q) discontent and mutinous, could do no great exploit.

*Merce-
nary un-
lets in
the
Devils
Service.*

*They
perish
by
them-
selves.*

*U. solim
sic nunc.*

Yet finally the town was taken in June 1535. having endured a siege of eighteen months. It was neither yeilded nor forced, but surprized (r), by the means

means of two that fled out of the town, and guided Oberstyns souldiers in the night, through the Town ditch, where the water was fordable; they scaled the walls, killed the watches, and put the next Court of guard to the sword. The noise of it awaked the Townsmen, who by reason of their light supper, had but a light sleep. They had time to make a strong barrecado in the market place, and fought valiantly a long time, putting the Bishops Souldiers to the worse till they broke open one of the Town gates and let in more men. The Townsmen seeing themselves opprest with number, craved quarter, and had it; But the King resisted to the last, in S. Lambert(s) Church-yard, and was with much ado taken, with Knipperdelling; ^{s. Lam-} Rorman would not ^{beris fa-} yeild, but was slain in the conflict. ^{sat.}

The Bishop entred into the City the next day with 1500 horse, and brought out the spoil of the town from the souldiers, the citizens that had yeilded were spared; but the fierce Anabaptists that could never be tamed, and lay hid in several holes, were sought out and killed; some Souldiers having made bold with the handsomest women, were poisoned with them, and found dead in their beds. This caused the death of many women, revenge being as hot as lust was before: the fairy Queen either escaped or was killed; for it was not known what became of her.

The King and no King, was sent prisoner to a Castle four miles from Munster. He went thither somewhat faster then he would, being tyed to the tail of a galloping horse (/), whereby his Majesty was now at his jour-neyes end, ^{little} Q

He had galloped enough,

little discomposed, Knipperdulling, and Krechting another Prophet, were sent prisoners to Horstmar, soon after, all three were brought to Telger; where the Bishop asked John of Leyden, by what authority he had made himself King over his City and his people: John of Leyden asked him again, who had given him any right or authority over that people; the Bishop answered that he came to it by election of the Chapter and the people, and I (said John of Leyden) came in by the will and calling of God.

Two Lutheran Divines, Corvinus and Keymens;

*A good course when orderly taken.

were sent to (u) confer with John of Leyden and Knipperdulling: they made the first to abjure many of his errors, and found him tractable enough, and one that heard reason: But Knipperdulling like a mad beast, would neither hear nor answer reason, but stood only upon revelations, and a particular spirit (w): Of him John of Leyden complained much,

* The foundation of the Quakers.

saying, that he played the Pope and would affirm, that he had the same power in things spiritual, as the King had in things temporal, and that it was fit there should be one King for the temporal, and another for the spiritual. They were condemned and executed as Traitors and Rebels, being tied to a stake and pulled in divers parts of their bodies with hot pincers for an hour and more, and then stricken in the heart with a dagger, Krechting suffered the

* Pure! more afraid of Body then Soul.

like death. John of Leyden shewed a great constancy, if persisting in evil may be called so; for being at the stake, and hearing his sentence read, he maintained that he had indeed offended the Magistrate, but that he had not offended God (x). After their death

death they were put in iron cages and hanged to a high steeple of S. Lambart; John of Leyden hanging higher than the two others.

So died that imaginary King of Justice by the hand of Justice, in the first year of his raign, being but six and twenty years of age, and there was an end of his Kingdom and his Prophesies : He was of a fair proportion (y), of an awful and yet lovely presence, of a present wit and strong judgment, eloquent, artificial, close, politique ; All the Prophets who to and Anabaptists of Munster were fools but he (z), make and he made use of their folly to serve his own ambition, which aspired to no less than the dominion of the world. He was indeed a dangerous instrument of Satan, likely to have made a fearful revolution, and planted a new Monarchy in the West of the world ; for all the commons in a manner of Germany, Low-countries, Moravia, Switzerland, and other Regions in all likelihood would have joined with him, if he could once have come out of Munster, as it may appear by the Chapters following.

CHAP. V.

The tumults of the Anabaptists in Low-Germany.

THe Anabaptists that made themselves masters of Munster, were deboyshed tradesmen of Holland and Frize, and there during the troubles of Munster, the same spirit was working with efficacy in the children of Rebellion (a) : They had like projects, but worse success.

In Febr. 1534. some of them raising a sedition at the

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terry.

the *Hague* were apprehended and put to death. In March, letters came from the Emperor *Charls* the fifth, who was Lord of the *Low-Countries*, offering a free pardon to all of that sect, that would within a fortnight repent and confess their error, commanding withall that all persons persisting in that sect should be severely punished according to the Laws. Yet the same month, a great multitude of *Anabaptists* with their wives and children, leaving all their estates, but what they could carry in mony, offered to go over to *Overyssel* with twelve ships, and being asked whither they went, they said they went to seek such land as God would give them; But they were stayed, the Secretary of the *Hague* being sent in time to *Amsterdam* by the Emperor to dispatch a convenient number of ships to fight with them, unless they disbanded & returned home; it is like they were going to *Munster*, the Sion of the *Anabaptists*.

This restraint made them more fierce, like a stream that swels when it is stopt: for the next day at noon five *Anabaptists* came naked through the streets with their swords in their hands, crying, *In the name of the Lord, The blessing of God lyeth upon one part of the City, and his curse on the other.* They were soon followed with others in arms, and the Magistrate raised in all haste some companies of Archers to oppose them: The authors of the sedition were taken, and all was quiet for that time.

The same day, such another sedition was raised at *Harlem*, in which six *Anabaptists* were slain, and two at the *Hague* were executed for the like cause. Shortly after, six of the most seditious were burnt
at

at *Harlem*, and two women drowned.

In *May* following, letters from *Frize* were read in the Counsel of *Amsterdam*, giving warning of a plot of the *Anabaptists* both of *Frize* and other parts, to meet in *Amsterdam* upon a certain day, and make themselves masters of the Town. Presently the Magistrates raised the Trained bands of the City, and made them stand in arms about the Town-house while they sat in Counsel; then a Proclamation was sent forth, that none in the City upon pain of death should harbor any stranger *Anabaptist*, &c that all the *Anabaptists* that were in the City should void it before 5 of the clock in the afternoon; That whosoever should stay after that time, should be put to death, without any remission. Towards night the Magistrates sent to search all the houses and took twenty of them; Four days after the Count of *Hochstrate*, Governor of *Holland*, came into the City with great part of the Counsel of *Holland*; & then eleven of the *Anabaptists* were beheaded, and four burnt alive; Thirty six of that sect having abjured it, were condemned to walk in procession barehead & barefoot with white sheets about them, and burning torches in their hands; Before the month was ended, more were found, and more executed, nine beheaded, and four burnt, nothing but fire and sword could repress the sedition fury of that fanatical sect.

About this time two Prophets of *Munster*, *James of Kemp*, and *John Nathias of Middleborough*, were sent by *John of Leyden* into *Holland*, to raise there a party for him; *James of Kemp*, he had made Governor of *Amsterdam*, where he had as much

right to command, as in *Munster*. Their coming to *Amsterdam* raised new tumults, which caused the Earl of *Hockstrat*, to return in September, to confirm the people in the Emperors obedience: In his way he visited *Leyden*, *Harlem*, and *Delft*, and having called the Burgeses of the Cities, he concluded the destruction of all the *Anabaptists*. Being come to *Amsterdam*, he sent for the Magistrates, chid them grievously for being so remiss in Executions, and presently committed two noted *Anabaptists*; Upon which a rumour being spread in the City, that the night after, two hundred should be taken and sent bound to the *Hague*, there to be executed, a great multitude arose towards night, and stood in armes about the town-house, the Magistrates raised the trained bands, and came resolved to fall u, on them, but bloudshed was prevented by the wise and moderate counsell of two of the best, who undertook to send them home with good words, and so they did; for having asked them why they assembled themselves in the night in such a tumultuous manner, the *Anabaptists* answered that they would not be taken sleeping in their Beds; the Magistrates promised upon their faith and credit, that they should receive no harm, and so they were quieted and disbanded: But this uprare did so fright the Count of *Hockstrat*, that he withdrew himself presently.

All these were but preludes to a greater mischief, wrought chiefly by that pernicious instrument

ment James of Kemp, who lay hid in *Amsterdam* six months, appearing only in the night to keep Conventicles seducing the people: Herein he was strongly seconded by *John Gele*, sent by *John of Leyden*, to be a leader of the wandering brethren to *Munster*, as we said before, and that expectation made *Munster* hold out so long.

But *John Gele* being come to *Frixe* and *Holland*, found no wandering *Israel* in the desert, as it was reported in *Munster*, wherefore he went to the Cities, where he made a great party, and caused several insurrections, and yet was not seen in any for a long time.

In January 1535. it was discovered that the *Anabaptists* had a plot to set *Leyden* on fire by night, and although timely notice was given, fire was set in several places of the Town the houses were searched, and the heads of the conspiracy were taken together in one house, fifteen men and five women, the men were beheaded, and the women drowned.

The next month the *Anabaptists* plaid a mad prank in *Amsterdam*, in a womans house, whose husband was gone to the West-Indies; seven men and five women of that sect had a meeting. One of them *Theodore a Taylor*, who bore himself for a Prophet, fell flat to the ground, and prayed with such vehemency, that he scared all the assistants out of their wits^b: Then rising, as it were out of an extasie, I have seen (saith he) ^b Our Quakers God is his Majesty, and have spokēn with him, I mens was wrapt up to Heaven, then I descended into Apeſ.

Hell, and there searched every corner; the great day of the last Judgement is coming: and thou (speaking to one of the company) art curs-

c Cursing common with our Quakers. ed for ever, thou art not good enough for Hell,

thou shalt be cast into the bottomlesse pit d. Then the poor condemned man, fell on his knees, craving

pardon, and the Prophet pardoned him e, and announced him a full remission of all his sins.

d Learn-edly spo-ken. Again in the night they met in the same place, the Women having left their Husbands a bed.

e Pope like. After four hours spent in prayer and teaching,

f The spi-ritual pre-tender is the Prophet f be armed, Cap a pe (for in these Canonical robes he preached) first, put off his

mat, and head-piece, then his corset, then his sword, the people then his garments and his very shirt, and throw-

given up eth all into the fire: then he commanded the company in authority of a Prophet to do the

like, and so they did, Women and all, leaving

not so much as a hair-lace to tye up their scattered hair, no covering to the body, no shelter to shame; for so was the Prophets pleasure, that they should cast away all that came out of the

g He for-earth g, and burnt it as a Sacrifice of sweet favour unto God: yet you may think that the burning of so many cloaths, yeilded no very sweet

savour; and it was such, that it awaked the Mi-

stresse of the house, that knew nothing of this meeting, and made her rise to seek where the burning was, for that smell made her afraid that

the fire was in her shop, which was of woollen Drapery: being come to the place, she saw ele-

ven naked b bodies, and the Prophet com-mand-ed

*Admirite
in novet*

ded her to put off her cloaths, and set them in the fire, which she did : then the Prophet commanded them all to follow him, and do as he would do, and so rushed into the street, stark naked ; and all his Disciples after him, running ; These and crying horribly through the Town ; woe things woe, woe, the Divine Vengeance, the Divine would be Vengeance : whereby they put the whole town incred-
in an uproar, the people thinking that the town ble, but was surprised by some enemy, they were all our times taken but one Woman that slipt out of the way, them out and were brought to the Magistrate, and as they of doubt. stood naked & in a full Court, they could never be ^k The De-
perswaded, neither by commands, nor threat- vil makes dings, to put on garments, which were offered hard hart-
them, saying, that they must have no covering, bold of for they were the naked truth. They were kept apace, past while in prison, till the great conspiracy, two grace, past months after, and then were executed : the Mi- shame.
stresse of the house where the Conventicle was kept, was hanged before her own doors.

In March, a thousand men of that Sect, came out of Hainault to Holland, and were repulsed in time before they gathered more strength.

The same month, three hundred *Anabaptists* fell upon the Monastery of *Bolsward* in Frize, ri-fled it, pulled down the Church, and trampled the Eucharist under their feet. *George Shenk* a great man of Frize, hearing of it, gathered pre-sently a considerable number of his Tenants and Neighbours, and met the Rebels, offering im-punity to all but ten. They answered, that they

would all live and dye together, and so they did; for they endured a Siege in the ruines of the Monastery, where they were all killed, or taken, and executed after, saving only threescore and two men that fled.

The frequent seditions in all parts of Holland were hardly represt with frequent executions, for *John Geles* was raising seditions from City to City, to frame a party for his King. A cunning plotting projector he was, and by his leading the Monastery of *Bolsward* was taken; his intent was to go with his troop to *Munster*, and gather more strength as he went: But being defeated by *George Schenk*, he fled to *Amsterdam* changed his name, and went for a Merchant; for by the several confessions of many that were executed for Sedition, the name of *Geles* was known, and grown famous for the prime author of all the factions of Holland and Frize.

In that City he found many fit subjects for his delusions, to whom he told wonders of the new Kingdome of righteousness at *Munster*, their liberty of life, their pittaging of Churches¹, and enriching themselves with the substance of the ungodly, and of the great designes of their King, and the prophesies of the propagation of his Kingdome in the world.

I Duleus
etor lucri
ex re qua-
libet.
Gane
gains fol-
lowers.

Disciples By such discourses he filled the mindes of the enough, if people with a frantique zeal, and made them any thing long to be fingering of the Chalices and Plates of to be got. Churches, and rob the Silver and Gold of the

Egyptians. There was then one *Henry Goethbelit*

belit in the Town, a proper strong man that had much followed the Wars, and had got a great reputation of Valour : this man was won by the *Anabaptists*, and made by *Geles* his associate and partner of all his Councils.

And because *Geles* was in great fear to be known by his right name (for the only changing of his name by the Lawes of the Countrey was punishable by death) he was perswaded by his friends to go to the Court of *Brabant*, and there confesse his fault, and buy his pardon (which he might well, for he had brought a great sum of money out of *Munster*) and then return and converse freely and openly, with his own name, and have more liberty and opportunity to bring his designtes to action.

He went then to the Court, where Queen *Mary of Portugal*, sister to *Charles the fift*, was Governesse of the seventeen Provinces, and sped so well, that not only he obtained his pardon, but got a great trust in the Court, promising to deliver the City of *Munster* to the Emperour. To that effect he got a Commission under the Great Seal, with a good sum of money, to leavy Soldiers for that service.

Having thus cozened the Court, he returned to *Amsterdam*, to cozen the Magistrates, who seeing his Commission, and the greatness of the designe, would emulate the trust reposed upon him by their Superiors, and shewed him much favour ; he took his lodging in the Spanish Ordinary, consorted with men of that Nation and

¶ VVith Religion, gave fair words in to all, which made
 fair spee- the Magistrates secure, and himself unifferable,
 ches. *Pau*l He made such use of that liberty, that in a short
 Bom. 16. time, he had contrived a most politick enter-
 tis. 18. *Die*prise, to make himself Master of the City. In a
 σολογιας night meeting, he announced to his brother-
 κι, ευλογι- hood the Oracle of *Henry Hilversum*, that God
 ας εξαπα- had given to the King of *Sion Amsterdam*,
 τωτο. *Wesel*, and *Daventer*, for the first-fruits of his
 reign over the world, persuading them that to in-
 vase *Amsterdam* was an easie matter, having but
 to do with a few idle Bellies, and that they had
 a fair opportunity at hand, to kill them alto-
 gether in the Town-house the twelfth of the in-
 stant *May*, a day kept festival by antient custom,
 by the society of the Crosse, who used to make
 a great Feast at night in the Town-house, and
 invite all the Magistrates, and men of means of
 the City, and there to spend most part of the
 night in drinking, and looking upon fire-works:
 That day then was designed for the enterprize,
 and their enemies noted and designed for the
 slaughter, and the richest houses already shar'd
 amongst them: they appointed for the signal of
 their rising, the ringing of the Bell in the Town-
 house: Before they parted, *John Geles* gave to e-
 very one a Ducat for a bond of society and secre-
 cy. He and *Henry Goethelic* were to be the
 leaders.

The appointed night being come, some ~~A-~~
 nabaptists were up before the signal, which the
 rest looking for, stayed so long, that the enter-
 prize

prize was disappointed; for the same day the Belrope was taken out of the way by a drunken fellow, yet by an admirable providence of God, watching for the safety of the City, and so there was no ringing, and no great meeting: ^{"God above all,} The Magistrates and the society of the Crosse, rules over hearing that the *Anabaptists* were up in arms, all, so may left their sport and went home. Yet the Ma-^{England} gistrates were so long consulting, that they were almost surprized by their enemies, who rushed with Colours flying, and Drums beating, into the Town-house, and killed some of the Serjeants and Waiters, and made the Masters that went before, to go out of their Aldermans pace to save their lives. Then coming to the great place where the Bonfires were burning, they overthrew them, that they might give more terror, and shoot undiscerned upon the multitude; they killed many in the dark with Bullets, which they had poisoned for fear of failing, and the Burgmaster Peter Colin being come to encounter them with a Troop of Citizens, was by them slain, and his men put to flight, then one Gofwin, a man of great authority in the City, and one that had valour and skill in War, commanded that the streets should be stopt with great sacks of Hops heaped up to be instead of Gabions, against the shot of the *Anabaptists*: And because he trusted not in the fearful and unexperienced Citizens, he called Volunteers, to whom he promised a months pay for that dayes service; by that means he got many that had seen

seen War before, and made a gallant Company.

The night being dark, he could attempt nothing till day, onely he took an order that all the wayes to the market place (where the *Anabaptists* stood in armes) should be stopt, and that the rest of the people should keep at home without noise : this order frightened the *Anabaptists*, seeing no hope to be assisted by their brethren, who for want of the signal of the Bell were not come, and now it was too late for them to come, the waies being stopt, and having lost the first opportunity of the fright of the people, who now were come to themselves, and stood upon their defence. Then *Goetbelit* said to *Geles*, this was my fear, that beginning this enterprize with so few, we should come short of it (for they were not above forty) now all that we have to do is

They could not as Christians.

Now against singing.

to dye like men. Nay (said *Geles*) if you will believe a Prophet, we shall be Masters of the City before to morrow ten of the clock : then they sung p *Psalms* all night, at the break of day, the people perceiving them, began to shoot at them, which made them retire into the Town-house, and there keep strong ; the people brought Ordinance before it, and were ready to have battered it down, but *Goswin* would try first to assault the door, which was done with effect, although the *Anabaptists* fought it out stoutly, and but twelve of them were taken, the rest were killed, & *Goetbelit* one of them. *John Geles* that would by any means

cozen

Cap. 51 Of Low-Germany.

cozened the hangman of his fees, got upon a little Steeple where the Town Bell hung, and gave a fair mark to the Soldiers below, who shot him thorow, whereof he fell down dead into the place. The prisoners were executed, and some more of the town, and some living without the gates, who hearing shooting of guns, were come to pillage the City, supposing that it was taken. Two women were hanged, and two drowned for poisoning the Bullets; many more since were executed, and amongst others some of those that daunced that Antique Masque of naked Men and Women, and a Woman and her Son, for receiving James of Kemp, contrary to the order of the Magistrate. For it had been proclaimed in the Town, that whosoever should harbour him, and not discover him before night, should be hanged at his door, but he that should discover him, should have a great reward. He was found hid in a heap of turves, and executed with ignominy, having a two horned Miter on his head, because he played the Bishop. His tongue was cut off, wherewith he had preached Sedition, and his hand wherewith he baptized without authority.

A little before the great plot, fourteen had conspired, when a solemn procession should go over the bridge, to throw the Eucharist and them that carried it, down the bridge into the water, the plot was detected, and the Authors executed.

John Geles had warned three hundred men of Iselwin

Iselfwin, to meet him at *Amsterdam*, three or four dayes after the intended enterprize, intending with that Garrison to keep the Towne; They came neer it, but hearing how matters went with their brethren, they dispersed themselves presently, and returned home by several wayes: He had appointed more *brethren* from several places, to come at a certain day; but they hearing the ill successe of their tribe, took their way into *England*, in two Ships, and here it seemeth they have stayed ever since.

In wick-
ednesse.

And now the heart of that Faction was broken in all the *Low-Countrys*, for they left not searching and executing in every City, till all that Generation was extinct or brought so low, that they left plotting. Ten years after, some reliques of that Faction would offer to stir at *Leyden*, the Authors being taken and examined, confess that the *Anabaptists* had chosen a King, who was not crowned yet, and was to succeed *John of Leyden*, and another to be his high Treasurer and that both were at *Utrecht*. Both were apprehended, and kept some months in prison. Among other exploits of that elected King, he had brought his Wife into a Wood, and there killed her, that without interruption he might lye with her daughter, and had lately cut a young wenches throat least she should detect him; good store of Plate was found in his house, most of it Church Plate: It seems that party began to make a stock for a new Kingdome, the King and his Treasurer were burnt, That was the last spark of that faction till our times.

CHAP.



CHAP. 6.

Of the Anabaptists of Switzerland, and other places.

THE South of *Germany*, was not free from that Sect, at *Zurick*, they began to pick a quarrel with ^a *Ministers*, who did their best to ^a *Theirs* reduce them with reason and mildnesse : for great eight or nine weeks together, they conferred quarrel it with them every Tuesday, and being overcome ^{against} *them*, in dispute, they fled to *Revelations*, their ordinary sanctuary, falling into a Trance before the company; and when they waked out of it, saying that they had a Revelation that the doctrine of *Zwingli* was damnable, and *Anabaptisme* holy, and that the day of Judgement should be within two years. Daily they prophesied in the Market-place, girded about ^b with a rope ^b or a with, ^b *The due* calling the chief Minister of the place (*John G-* ^{desert of} *ftio*) the antient Dragon, and his Colleagues the heads of the Dragon ; boasting of their holiness (which consisted much in the reaching the rich men community of goods) and crying in the streets, woe, woe, woe, to the City of *Zurick*; some went so far, as to give forry dayes time to *Zurick*.

Znrickas *Tonas* did to Nineve, after which it was destroyed. After a long patience of the Magistrate they were put in Prison, where they were again convened in conference by the Ministers, and many times conducted by their Keepers to a publick meeting, where all the people might hear the conference. Finding themselves short of reason, and confuted by Scripture, they would answer, that what they could not prove by Reason and Scripture, they would prove by their blood. Thus ten conferences were held, and two of them in the Church, every conference lasting three dayes, where they got so much discredit to their cause, that the number of their Sectaries decreased much, and the Senate proclaimed, that if any should re-baptize such as were baptized already, he should be drowned. And so many were baptized the third time, and Zurick was in peace.

The Genius of that Sect was every where alike, for they went from City to City where they heard that reformation was received, (not to any Popish town) and wheresoever they came, they presently troubled the State, and filled all with clamour and sedition. By them was the town of *Waltz* miserably ransacked, and all the Inhabitants driven away out of their possessions: The like they were like to have done at *Worms*, at *Amburg*, at *Bazel*, at *Shafuse*, at *Berne*, at *Lucerna*, at *Passaw*; I will not weary the reader with all these passages, their actions at *Munster* and *Amsterdam*, are sufficient to give a Character

racter of that Sect, and I aim at no more, *Crimi-*
ne ab uno, disce omnes; I will adde but a few more
of their maximes, and some passages of their be-
haviour; observing no order of time, for my
authors observe none.

It were an endless task to rehearse their se-
veral errors, which because all among them
were Preachers, could not but multiply *in infini-*
tum: They held among other things, that rebap-
tized men cannot sin, because they are Gods
children; that all Ministers that hold Church-
livings, are from the Devil: that the Apostles
had nothing proper, but went from house to
house; some would say that they had no need of
the Lords Prayer, because they prayed by the
Spirit; many denied the God-head of Christ, e Arrian-
and for that two were executed at *Newcastle*. In Anabap-
Moravia especially that opinion was received,
which Countrey because of the loosenesse of the
Government swarmed with *Anabaptists*, and
was cryed up by the Sectaries of *Switzerland* and
upper *Germany*, for a land of Promile, and thither
many of them removed their houshold,
when they found themselves represt.

One of them committed a notable impos-
ture, In the night time he put a great num-
ber of Fishes in a foul puddle, where the
people used to wash Horses, and in the mor-
ning he Prophesied, thus saith the Lord, cast
Nets in this Puddle, and you shall get good
Fish, a thing incredible, for never any Fish
was seen there. But at his word, his Disciples
cast

cast the Net, and enclosed multitude of Fishes, so that the Net brake. Thus the profane Raskall would imitate the miracle of Christ, and God in his anger gave efficacy of error to that false miracle which deceived many.

By Basel there was an uproar of some Villages who would have three things, abolish all Tithes, pull down all Magistrates, and kill all the ungodly, but they were stopt in time, and disbanded and fined. The ground of these attempts of the *Anabaptists* in so many places, was a ~~dream~~^f they had of a temporal Kingdome of Christ, with whom all the godly should reign in Earth without any infirmity of Body or Soul, all Gods enemies being destroyed first, for all *Anabaptists* were and are still *Chiliasts*, expounding literally that Kingdome of a thousand years, of Rev. 20. 6. to be a temporal Kingdome. That fancy put many of them out of their wits, all the Histories that speake of them, relate many examples of their looking seriously for the coming of the Lord upon such a night, being warned by Revelation, which made them fast and pray that night, and put all their busineses out of order.

Much conference they had with the Angell Gabriel, and one of their women, a very poor one, saw him to her thinking, in a vision, bidding her to lay the cloth, and invite her neighbour, and that God would send her *Monna* and *Quails* from

f That Dream is
not yet
fallen a-
sleep.

from heaven, but none came, and the Neigh-
boris put up their knives, and went home hav-
ing had long graces, but no meat. Another
woman had a revelation that God would keep
her alive without meat, and she fasted to death.

Under pretence of childish innocence, they
played many mad pranks, one having kept his
excrements in store many days, powred it into
the street, and turned himself naked into it,
saying for his reason, that unlesse we be made
like little children, we cannot enter into the
Kingdome of heaven. Others for the same rea-
son, would ride naked upon sticks and hobby
horses like children, in great companies, and
women would run naked with them, and then
in pure innocence, they lay together, and so in
the end it proved childrens play indeed. (g)

Mad feats might have been suffered or represt ^{As the} with mild courses, but their general design to pull down all Magistrates, and kill all the ungodly, that is, all that were none of their sect, provoked the just severity of the princes and Commonwealths against them; and for 20. years, many thousands of them were killed, burned, and drowned, till their reliques were so contemptible, that they were let alone for compassion.

Quakers
in Col-
chester.



Chap. I.

Of our English-Quakers, name and practise.

a L. t. of
the Anabaptists.

b L. 2. of
the Quakers.

The end
of the
Author.

c Egg Co-
mmons, vi-
tale & new-
paper.

'Exce-
sorius
nati
causae.

Their
name

equall Ely-
m legum

Thevown
it not, but
are so cal-

led.
d See Gil-
pin c. 2. &
Tidem,

c. 3.

YOU have heard a sad story from abroad, acted in the theatre of Germany, which surely hath not been takenn notice of, without detestation and amazement.

Now b we draw neerer home, and come to give in a brief account of somewhat done in our land, and in our times.

All to one and the same end,
viz.

1. To caution thee, that thou beest not deceived.
2. To excite thee to be thankfull, if thou still standest in the truth, stedfast, and immovable, rooted (c) therein.
3. To provoke thee to pray, for the purity, establishment and peace of Gods Church, the eye sores of the Divell and vexation of his instruments, but the desire, endeavour, and joy of the naturall sons of Zion.

Of late years, under the Sun-shine of too general a toleration, there hath sprung up a sort of people, generally called Quakers from the quaking

justify

Quaking.

Answ. to

Westmey-

land posi-

tion. p. 35.

degeavor

a mfw.

Tas xu-

pdiis tis

anaxay.

Ex op

adutefarii

Their

assemblies

See c. I.

example

I. & else-

where

Westwork

petition,

c. II.

2. Lan-

guage.

There is

a Book in

defence of

it called

The pure

language

of the

Spirit of

truth.

H' ydē-

oracis

y' Coptin

vō rīc

yewras.

quaking and trembling of their bodies, in a very strange and uncouth manner, when (either really or pretendedly,) acted by another spirit (d) then their own.

For the justification of it, they abusively alledge (e) those Scriptures that mention anything of quaking, or trembling in the Saints, at any time, or upon any occasion:

Not considering,

1. That some speeches are ~~badly~~ hyperbolically spoken.
2. And others intimate to us the extraordinary operations of the Holy Ghost.

But they think it sufficient with empty sounds, to deceive the simple (f) they themselves in the interim, enervating ad placitum, when they please, the sacred authority of divine writ, as shall afterward be made manifest, (g)

1. Their Assemblies] they hold without any difference of time or place, but as opportunity offers in them; formerly a great part both of their Men and Women did extraordinarily quake, even to the dread and affrightment of the beholders, but now more rare and seldom.

2. Their language] to themselves peculiar, so that by it they may be known, in a small matter they pretend much conscience, and put much in these little words thou and thee, * but if a little provoked then they shew their tongues to be set on fire of Hell, railing, cursing, and blaspheming, yea damning them with whom wrathfully

k As will
appear

c. 3 ex-
ample 2.

d u a l i c o .

t h e r t o v

x a w u p a -

q u e r y

u n i t i o n

c a t a n t -

v o l t e s .

אֱלֹהִים

3. Beha-

vior.

Their
reason.

Answere-
red:

m a n g a -

r e y z s

a u r u s

r e n o .

x o r f a t .

N. B.

4. Their
food and

r a y m e n t .

* **A. Nay-**

l o r. Par-

n e l .

displeased, (k) which evidence they strain at & Gnat, and swallow a Camel, their mouths so narrow that you cannot passe, and yet when mov'd, their mouths are full (l) of cursing and evil speaking, this is legible in printed characters their pamphlets will sufficiently shew it.

3. Their behaviour is, bail fellow well met: and though they have a shew of humility, yet are they big with swolen pride; for as if neither God nor Nature nor State had made any difference of persons, they will uncover to none, nor give any titles of Honour, witnessie their proud, sullen, and clownish behaviour, not only toward persons of a lower ranck but before Magistracy it self.

Upon the pretence of calling no man Fathers, & that they may not be guilty of worshiping the creature, many of them being willingly ignorant (m) of the difference between cultum divinum & civilem, divine and civil honour.

2. Others (the more ignorant of them) being misled by misunderstanding the language and scope of Scripture.

Yet this is remarkable, when they should not, they will strangely allegorize; I wish Origens mischance do not befall them.

4. Their food and rayment] too abstemious in the first, and almost sordid in the last, sometimes fasting many dayes; & at other times living a long while on a little bread and water, going in any mean habit, without (as we use to say) welt or guard, no Lase, Cusses, Hatbands, &c. taking

taking an occasion hereby the more to inveigh against gluttony, drunkennesse, pride, covetousnesse, &c. That by this means they might gain a great opinion among simple well minded people, who consider not that the *Divel* *deth transforme himself into an Angell of Light* (n) "Ορα- and suits his temptation as may best suit with ταράς them he hath to do with, that apt we are to μελαχη- seek a righteousness of our own. τας εις

5. Their prancks) may well be termed mad αγελον prancks, many times so far from (quod decet ρωτε. Christianis) Christianity and reason that they See Gilpin 5. Prancks have not in them aliquid humanitatis what becomes reasonable creatures. c. 2. & Tol- derrys

And therefore, because they cannot bare them story, c. 3. out by such principles, they betake themselves Church disturbers to, 1. occult revolutions, 2. the operations of the Απτελε- spirit, 3. the voice of God within them; so fa- γον τοις thering on the most High what they dare not λαρου- on nature be low, and what natura naturata, νον απτε- nature abhors, they make to be pleasing nature λιγορες και βλα- natranti to the God of nature, so that they σφαμηνεις may fitly be termed ἀλογα ζοι, unreasonable p. 1 Cor. ones. 14.35.

1. Great disturbers of Church assemblies] both Αποκρι- their men and women, interrupting Ministers in ρωτε γυ- the midst of their preaching, contradicting and ναιζειν ει- blaspheming (o) και βλασφημησεις. εκκαντη.

The women, who should be cloathed with modesty, and are prohibited by Apostolical injunction (p) to speak in the Church, denuding Συραιει themselves of all shamefacedness, with brazen ησατος faces τηνα.

faces vent their brain-sick phancies under pretext of impulsion of the Holy Spirit.

1. This they doe in the greatest assemblies.

2. In ways disorderly] as if God himself were the author of * confusio[n].

* *confusio[n]*. Yet many times so far can they imprison their pretended impulses, as to abtain, when they may otherwise incur the penalty of the Law, by speaking to the disturbance of holy performances, consulting their own safety rather then venting what they pretend to be impulset unto, impellent impulsu[m] they force the impulse.

2. Go naked] frequently in the streets (q) exposing their nakedness to publique view, and divers instances boulster out their immodesty by the Prophets going naked; as if they had afterwards.

Chap. 5. 1. The self same warrant.

Proof. 2. And the Prophet going as naked as themselves with the discovery of his shame, yea, men and women have appeared so in the publique Assemblies on the Lords-day, neither being restrained, 1. by the holyness of the time, nor 2. having respect at all to divine Ordinances, nor 3. society o[the Saints, altogether unmindfull of that of the Apostle that would have the women to have a covering on their heads, because of the (r) Angels, but as if the holy God would have his holy Day, Ordinances and Assemblies affronted with that which puts nature it self to the blush, they weigh not, we have no such customes, when they tend not what nature it self touches.

r[om] 14. Cor.

11. 13. 14.

dia tauru[m]

ep[ist]ola p[ro]p[ri]etatis

d[omi]ni i[ust]itiae

exordi[um] l[et]tu[r]e

dia tauru[m]

propositio[n]e

1 Cor. 11.

16.

relat[i]o[n]is

g[ra]m[m]atica u[er]ba

3 xps[ist]er.

C H A P. II.

Of John Gilpin of Kendal in West-
merland.

But that you may not be served up and put off with a general information only we shall be willing to take the pains to give you some account of particulars, and begin with three that have made themselves known to the world, viz. Gilpin, Tolderry, and Naylor.

1. John Gilpin of Kendal in Westmerland in May 1653. went to a meeting of the Quakers at Richard Newberys, where Christopher Atkinsone (a) drift in his speaking was to deny all ministerial teaching and ordinances, (b) and that we ought to become as if we never had learned, and to be taught of God within our selves by waiting upon an inward light] after which he was afraid to read any good books or hear any Minister or to remember any thing which he had learned out of Gods word.

Going a second time to one of their meetings, he had some conference by the way, in which Robert Collison (c) affirmed that Christ had his failings (d) for he distrusted God on the Cross : Yet he that then was Speaker persuaded the people they must to hearken to a voice within them, after which he resolved to wait for the manifestation of these things in himself.

L 2. C 2.
Of Gilpin.

C 2. 3. 4.

Gilpin
Quakers
shaken,
p. 2.

A noto-
rious
Quaker.-
b Well
struck
at once.

c A Qua-
ker.

d Yet

e cert-
f. 8.

A p. 3. f. 8.

A third time he spake to them at your meeting that he would not joyn with them, if they were of Collifons mind, to which some of them (after much whispering) (e) answered negatively.

There is
cunning
in daub-
ing.

At a fourth meeting *Atkinson* was speaker, when he spake much of the experience he had from God from the light within him, which light *Gilpin* not finding was much troubled, yet expected the appearance of that light, and earnestly desired that he might fall into quaking and trembling.

After his departure from them, walking in his chamber he began to quake and tremble so extreamly that he could not stand * but was forced to fall upon his bed, where

* No stan-
ding be-
fore the
Devil but
in Gods
joicing,
* Much of
the same
as serves
him after-
wards.

he howled * cryed in a bideous manger to the great astonishment of his Family: when he had continued about half an hour, he ceased from howling gradually, after which he rose re-strengthning, thinking now that he could bear witness against the Ministers as false Prophets because he never found such effect under their Ministry.

Going to bed, he was much troubl'd all that night with dreams concerning his condition, and had a discovery of his sins * in particular; especially of his covetousnesse: afterwards awake and thinking upon those dreams he sensibly perceived something (as he imagined) lighting upon his neck, and giving him a great stroke, which caused much pain, & after that another, third

f The Di-
vel will
discover
as serves
his turn.

third, and fourth, which stroke less than the former and lower down till it came to the middle of his back, and then he thought something entred his body, which he perswaded himself to be the spirit, and heard (in his conceit) a voice within him, it is day, looking up he answered, yes, the voice twice replied as certainly as it is light, so certainly shall Christ give thee light.

After this he continued two or three dayes waiting for further discoveries, sometime wrapt up into excessive joy, and again exceedingly dejected with fears of his condition, whether really good or under delusions: yet still waited and walking into the Garden, lying down on the ground with his face to the earth, his right hand began to shake, so as he could not hold it still, (g) Acted. whilst he was wondring what the meaning b All joy should be, apprehending himself to be shaken by is not hea- the hand, he was brought into a rapture of joy, * Remem- venly. (b) imagining it to be a figure of his marriage ber our with Christ, then he was raised and set on his sin, God, feet, again turned and laid on his back at which Divel, his sins were particularly brought to mind, * Consci- and at remembrance of every sin, his hand was ence. carried round about with giving a pat on the i A poor ground and then he imagined he heard a voice mortifica- saying, now such a sin is mortified; of which tion. being perswaded, (k) the power he was acted by k without permitted him to rise saying, Ask what thou wilt ground of the Father, and he will give it; he replyed, he knew not what to ask, but desired that power to teach him, he bid him ask wisdome whereupon he

he desired also that God would give him such things as were most for his glory, and the good of others, the power answered that his request was granted, and that he should be endowed with the spirit of prophecy and singing praises to God.

^{c. p.5.}

^l Small satisfaction.

^m The stirring of affections no true signe of edification.

ⁿ Quakers of whom

^{c. II.}

^{Christum non crucum abhorret diabolus.}

^{- p.6.}

^q persuasions without ground lead men into a fools paradise.

Herewith being satisfied (^l) he went to the fifth meeting, where Atkinson being Speaker, he was much more affected (^m) than formerly; after he had done, Gilpin being ready to go away, the wife of the house took him by the hand and wringing it very hard, bad him sit down again which he did, and presently John Audland (ⁿ) stood up, saying, Cannot ye watch one hour? &c. In the time of his speaking Gilpin was drawn from where he sat, and thrown upon the ground, in the midst of the Company, where he lay all night; all which time his body and all the members of it were in motion, being turned from his back to his belly, and so back again, several times, making (^o) crosses, continually with his legs one over the other, his hands were carried too and fro on the ground as if writing; in which motions (he saith) he acted not in the least, but was altogether passive.

He was perswaded (^q) it was the immediate power of Christ, and heard (he thought) a voice, that that writing with his hand upon the ground did signify the writing of the law in his heart. Having lain all night upon the ground, as aforesaid, the power moved his hands to his head and

and laid them on the top thereof, fast closed together; whereupon he heard a voice, (r) Christ, ^{Vox dicitur} in God and God in Christ and Christ in thee; ^{et vice versa} which he was compelled to sing before the company, in a strange manner, with such a voice as was not naturally his own; he sang also diverse phrases of Scripture, given into him, after which he was raised from the ground and set on his feet by the power within him, which had him before (^s) humble, and brought him down again upon his knees, and with a whispering voice ^s A great said, stoop low, low; and having stooped near humility the ground with his face, it said, Take up the may cross and follow me: arising, he was led out of ^s list with the house to the river, and thence into the ^{a great deal of} town, drawn down the street, and caused suddenly to turn to a door (himself not knowing who lived in the house) two of the company following him all the time, and seeing him go to the door, said, whither wilt thou go? this is the Fidlers (^t) house; he answered, whose house soever it is, Christ (^u) leads me hither; and ^t A merry therefore I must go: (^w) Whereupon his hand ^v How far was carried to knock, and he commanded to wide say, behold, Christ stands at the door and knocks. when the The Fidler opened and Gilpin was led into the Divell ta-house not speaking to him, where his hand was ^w Christ. carried to a base-viall hanging up, he took it ^w Needs down and began to play upon it, and was im- must mediately compelled to fall a dancing, here- when the upon he questioned the power, to which the voice, devil replied, this is not because I love Musick, for I drives. bate

*Enough bate * it ; but to signify what joy there is in to shew it heaven at thy conversion, as also what spiritual was the motion thou shalt have hereafter. Then he was led Dives, for out of the house into the street, and through if he did the town, being moved to proclaim as he went, not he I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life ; after lied if he did, not which he was brought to his home, Will. Dodding, going along with him, acknowledged God,

P. 7.
F. 1. - caused to make circles round the house, the power telling him, that he was putting off the old man ; his hand was carried to take up a stone on the floor which to him seemed to be in the fashion of a heart, the voice telling him, that

y What is Christ had taken that stone out of his heart, (y) & poor man given him a heart of flesh ; and his hand was moved to hold it out to the Spectatours, and deduced.

his fancy to say, Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe ; and throwing the stone amongst them, he said, low here is my heart of stone, afterwards being cast upon the ground on his back, the voice spake, thou shalt have two Angels to keep thee : whereupon two Swallows came down the Chimny and set upon a shelf over against the place where he lay and he cryed to by standers my Angels my Angels, * Poor man if no he held out his hand towards them, expecting them to come to him, but they went up the Chimny, though both the Doors and Windows were open.

He was carried out of the doors, by the po-

* Poor
man if no
better
kept.

wr

wer upon his Hands and Knees into the street, which his wife and others laboured to hinder, but he told them, he would leave all to follow Christ, in that manner he went up the streets thinking he bore a Crosse on his neck, and continued in this motion, till some pulled him out of the mire & dirt and by force carried him into the house, whereupon he was moved to point to one of them that brought him in, and to say, *Christ points at thee, thou art a wicked woman and hast hindred the work of the Lord.* Then the voice asked him where his Crosse was telling him he had scattered it, whereupon he was moved to make a Crosse with his finger on the floor and forced to set his head upon it, playing topsy turvy, * thinking then he had taken up his Crosse. In those actions he was kept along while having many Scripture expressions given in, to the admiration of all that heard him, sometime he was forced to leap and dance, this expression being given into him, *now have I finish'd the work which thou gavest me to doe,* (z) thinking his redemption then fully accomplish'd: but his joy continued not; for he was cast down again, and the voice told him, *he had offended God in attributing that to himself was proper to Christ*(a) whereupon he was cast upon the ground and lying on his belly he was forced to lick the dust, & his hand carried extraordinarily upon his head, having a voice given him, *that a good no sin must go unpunished,* so creeping up and end down the house he heard a voice, *where is thy Crosse?*

* Poor
man the
Divells
Maygame

^z You see
whom &
what the
Divil de-
lights to
abuse.

^a Good
but not to

Crosse? upon which looking aside, he thought he saw a Crosse hanging in a thread, which with his hand, he put behind his neck, he was kept in this posture all the day, when many Quakers came into him, who spake, be lowly, mind thy condition and hearken to the voice within. His strength being almost spent and his body much consumed by continual restlesnesse, two Quakers offered to watch with him that night but he refused, after this he began to question (b) whether the power he was acted by was Divine or Diabolical? whereupon he was struck with fear, and his hand was carried to take up a Knife,

c John 8. 44. *Exo 17. 14. G* *arbgano.* *XropG.* p. 9
which done, his hand was carried towards his throat, and the voice said open a hole there (c) and I will give thee the words of eternall life; wherupon he answered, what with a Knife? and so threw it away, his wife in the next room hearing him, came out and desired him to go to bed, which he did, & in the morning, he thought a devill went out of him, at which instant he roar'd most hideously, crying, now is the Divel gone out of me: at which instant he and his family heard it thunder, (though none in the Town beside) which made him think it was the Divel, soon after the same power came and told him, that it was Satan that had possest and led him heretofore, but now Christ was come, and he had cast out Satan, and convinced him, that what ever he had done was in obedience to Satan, and that as he had serv'd the Divel before in his cloathes, so now he must undoe all, only in his spirit in obedi-

ence

ence to Christ, which rising he imediately endeavoured, going into the street in his shirt, but being stopp'd, the power told him that he must be carried into the house with four women, or else he should perpetually stand there like a pillar of Salt, so he was born in by four women who carried him into his bed, then he hold them he had been doing the Divils work before but to day he must the work of Christ: and pointing at a woman whom he had pointed at before said, the Divel told me yesterday you were a wicked woman, but now Christ tells me you are Gods servant, the woman being departed, he fell to acting in his shirt upon the bed, as formerly on the floor, playing topsie turvy from one bed to another, and the power bid him not fear, for he would give him strength; and after this, that the Divel had the other day commanded him to bear the cross, but now Christ to lay it down for Christ takes no pleasure in crosses, nor would have him worship them as yesterday; the Divel made thee yesterday to lie on the ground, but now I have provided a bed; giving in this to him, my yoke is easie, promising also to give him, bread of life to eat, and ^{p. 10.} The Di- water of life to drink, and that out of his belly ^{then he} vil is wont shall flow waters of (d) life; whereupon his to promise teeth were caused to move, and he thought he more perswaded that yesterday the divels angels had ^{can do:} Goodly waited on him, but now Christis; whereupon he Angels saw two butterflies (e) in the window, to which Swallows his hand was carried, & having taken one, he was ^{and But-}terflies. moved

moved to put it into his mouth, and did swallow it ; then he took the other and was moved to put it into his throat, the power telling, it should utter this, saying, nothing is impossible to them that believe. After this, he was caused to make circles on the bed ; whereupon he began to think, it was not of God, and so began to resist, and thereupon fell into great fear, crying, * Lord what wilt thou have me to doe ? the power told him, that it was too late to cry unto God for sentence was already pronounced against him ; whereupon he was convict the Divell had de-
luded him.

After a short space, the power again told him, that it was a white Divell had deceived him the latter time, but now Christ was come indeed and would cast him out, (f) whereupon he took that Devil to be cast out, after which as he lay in his bed, all his members fell a working as if the pangs of death had been on him, the power telling him, it was the pangs of the new birth, and that Christ was new born in him, lying in that condition a whole day, the power perswaded him, that he should work wonders, and cast out Devils in his name ; soon after two Quakers came to him, to whom he told he had two Devils cast out of him, but now Christ was in him of a truth (g) then the power, I was crowned with a crown of Thorns, but I will crown thee with a crown of Glory, and bad him as a figure thereof to set his fist upon his head, (h) and it should appear to the standers by as a glorious Crown, then said

f As
much as
before.

g How
uncertain
when
misled
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voice
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within.
(i) b A glori-
ous
Crown.

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said he to them, what do you see? being Quakers they turned their eyes another way, the power * telling him * that they saw the crown on his head, yet never but were so taken with admiration that they could wants an not expresse what they saw, and bid him tell one excuse. of the Quakers present, that he had a Divel in him, and that Gilpin, should have power to cast him out; whereupon he said, O! thou hast a Divel in thee the power told him, that Quakers should Quake and tremble, which immedia tely Gilpin. be did; the power bid him speak to him, to fall flat on the ground which he did, and after a space rose, and he asked him whether the divell was gone out of him? to which he gave no answer but the power told him, the devil was ejected, the same also told him, who (of those that came to see him) had Devils, who not, and that his wife and mother had devils in them, but he had power given him to cast them out.

After that he began to question whether this were Christ or no whereupon the Divel discovered himself telling him, that all this while he had been serving him and blaspheming God, and now it was to late to repent; whereupon he was brought into despair for a time, at last he began The devil to desist from hearkning to the voice within him, will not and apply himself to God in Christ, whereupon he was presently in a great agony, and sweat, and so continued all night, somewhat more cheerful in the morning, yet not finally resolved to desert that way, he was again assaulted by the power telling him, that now the Divel was

finally cast out of him, and that the room within him must not be left empty, but that Christ must come and have the whole and sole possession or else Satan would return & reenter with seaven other Divils worse then himself, telling him that he was Christ, solliciting him to entertain him, he resisted for a time, but to persuade him he represented to his memory most of the remarkable passages of his life, told him how long he should live, and when die, and that he would strengthen ⁺ his body, and caused him to rub his body with his hands at which instant he conceived he received strength, and his members to be more in substance then before, with divers other passages, promising him prosperity in the world, and speaking behold a man that hath told thee all things that ever thou didst, is not this the Christ? whereupon he was perswaded to embrace this power thinking it was Christ, whereupon he was sensible of a working throughout his whole body, which soon ceased, and then he thought his condition good and Christ to be really in him. Afterward this power told him, that he had highly offended God in all his former passages in giving way to Satan and that he was guilty of all sins, except that against the Holy Ghost, but that he did it ignorantly, and therefore he had pity on him, he was further perswaded by the power that he should lie seemingly dead, which he did, not daring to stir, till the power moved him; lying thus a while, the power began to move one of his legs, and then

* Of the
Devils re-
newing
strength
see Tol-
derry
case c 5.

then the other, after that his hands, and then his head; at last his whole body, causing him to sit on his bed, telling him, thus should his body be quickned and raised at last day; then the power told him, that he must put off his shirt and cap and napkin about his neck, saying, that whatever was about him was polluted, and that he hated the garments spotted with the flesh; whereupon he pulled them off, and threw them on the ground, saying, that he hated the garments, spotted with the flesh; the power also told him, that all his bonds were broken, and his cords loosed, and that Christ had set him free. Whereupon calling for a clean shirt and other linnen, he rose concluding himself in a good condition, but being up, finding himself no better, his body rather weakned, he began to see he had been deluded; whereupon he was struck with fear, and walking into the Garden he thought one while the Divell would pull him into the Earth, another while into the Air. so that he was afraid to continue abroad, and came into the house and suspected every thing he heard to be the Divel waiting to fetch him away; In this perplexity he began to consider how he had offended in rejecting reading, hearing fruit of prayer; and therefore it was just with God to leave him to delusions. (k)

This Relation is not testified only under his own hand, but by severall of known fidelity, living in and neer Kendall.

Christopher Atkinson of Kendall in a Pamphlet

G 2

wherein

p. 13.

*This is the
fruit of
heark-
ing to
a voice
within.*

p. 14.
p. 13.

Rare
proofs

wherein he pretends to answer *Gilpin*, denies not the matter of fact, but charges him with drunkenness, and returning to his former filthinesse, which is a notorious falsehood ; 'tis true, there was information given in against him for drunkenness by a *Quaker* to a *Justice*, one of their own Faction, who sent his warrant for him ; but *Gilpin* ignorant of it, was absent, being called to serve in the Garrison of *Carlisle*, but did not flie as that Pamphlet reports. Some of his friends examined the matter further, and told his accusers it was a forgery ; to which some of them answered it was not ; for he was drunk with ⁽¹⁾ sin, and this was all, that any of his Adversaries would undertake to justify.

To clear *Gilpin*, there were two testimonies signed by men of unquestioned integrity, acquainted with him

p. 16, 17. 1. Whereas severall *Quakers* have aspersed *John Gilpin*, as guilty of drunkenness and other licentious practises. These are to certifie that we have taken speciall notice of his Conversation, during the time of his abode with us, and have found it to be not only Civill, but sutable to the Gospell.

2. Whereas *John Gilpin* is traduced to be scandalous and tainted with drunkenness and other lusts, These are to certifie the contrary, and that he is to our knowledge, one that walks soberly, humbly, piously, and without reproofe, not in the least guilty of those wickedneses charged on him ; nor did we ever hear otherwise by him,

him, but that he was virtuously inclined, and of
a very tender Conscience.

C H A P. III.

Of John Tolderry.

HE hearing at a private house two Quakers, Foot out
and observing their discourse, tending to of snare,
the destruction of (a) him, was somewhat affected p. 3.
with them, and was perswaded to make further ^{a In words} enquiry after the Sect ; whereupon, after some
observation, he concluded (b) ^{b Upon} these people were poor
of God, sent forth, as witnesses from him ^{poor} against grounds.
all others ; but in regard of much strangenesse
in their way *and bold confidence they had in*
judging he was not satisfied to comply with
them.

A short time following, being at a private
meeting, there came in a stranger, who with an
exceeding bold courage, cried aloud, *Praises,*
praises be to the Lord for ever, who bath hid things
from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to
babes ; and beginning at Genesis, he passed
through the whole Scriptures, and turned all
things into Allegories, and so declaring what
meant by the first, second Adam, by the Fall,
Redemption, &c. expressing with confidence,
that searching of the Scripture was not the way to

P. 4.

39. ^{Ephesians 2:10} find out the knowledge of (a) Christ, but the turning ^{the} mind to *WITHIN*. So after about an hours discourse with confidence, mighty powerfully declared with all seriousness imaginable, he departed, *Tolderry* with others being strongly affected; whereupon he was acted, *zealously* (b) to follow them, but he remained a time before he complied or made himself known to any of them.

^{Rom. 10:2} In the mean while, meeting with one of them ^{c John 8:54} that gave him to understand, that they were sent by Christ to preach the Gospel, by the same Christ the Apostles were, and that the person the Son of God which died at Jerusalem was not the Redeemer, (c) but the redeemer was in every particular man, that light by which he was given to see sin, and enabled by it, if obeyed, to be redeemed from sin, and declaring of them much to admiration; he gave him notice the next day of their meeting, and the place with earnest invitation.

When he came home, he went to prayers, & being mightily carried forth in that duty, very often before the times of their meeting, he looked on it as a sign of Gods pleasure he should close with them; at the meeting, three of the chiefest were Speakers, whose matter and manner was more taking to him then the former; but especially the powerful operation of the (e) prayer; wherupon he was moved to make a confession of himself with the owning of them in the presence of all the people, upon which he became subject to the teachings of a spirit in himself; the

which

which being believed (g) to be the Redeemer, he ^{g But on what grounds?} was fully perswaded, that denying any thing in the least, it required he should not be redeemed. (h) A dread full bondage.

Hereupon he became subject to divers ceremonies, as not to Master any, not to put off the Hat to any, not to speak the word you but thou, not to use any Greetings, that bowing to a man mother of was worshipping of him, (k) not to drink to any, to pull off his Points at knees, Bandstrings, Hatband, unnecessary Buttons, some of which he brake to pieces and threw away, burned divers Divinity books, judgeing they were the teachings of the Devil, Gen. 23:7. some made away, others threw away broken in pieces, having in charge the redeeming part of an estate for his Mother, which in a short time was in a fair possibility to be effected, was perswaded under pretence of selfe denial, to desist, by which his mother and many little ones suffered much; but so predominant was the power that he refused the least acknowledgement much more the performance of duty to any. (l)

Coming to persuade his Master to his opinion, he reached a stool, took him by the Arme or Cloak, and bid him set down William Webb, not bowing, not pulling off the Hat, nor calling him Master and afterward denied all relations, then he said to him, how does thy body do? who replied John what's the matter? where is the servants obedience? where the Masters honour? his answer was, my Master is the faithful spirit in me. A while

זק

אברהם

וישתחוו

לבנונהת

N. B.

The Devil will let neither God nor man have his due.

Sauls

P. 17.

P. 14.

7

A while after when his master and company with him were at dinner, he was moved by the power to dine with them, so he went into the room, took a stol and sat down at the head of the (x) table, then some questions being asked him of the duty of the servant, replied, that himself was the servant of God, he not; therefore had more right to the creatures then he. (o)

n Very
lowly
done.

o Pride
with a
winkes.

In the shop he durst not ask Customers what they wanted nor make the price but in own word, if tempted by them to more, he was provoked to look sternly with wrath and envy, that they spake more then was needful, and divers commodities he dealt in having honourable names he was commanded by the power to give them new names; he was further perswaded not to eat any thing he loved, and at last was wrought on to eat nothing but Crums, picking of bones when done with by others, with such food as was destructive to health, he was also kept from eating to the satisfying of nature, so that he became extream poor and so changed as if not the same man:

~~man~~ some weeks eating little more then na-
p In all this ture (p) would have required to eat in one day; little of going a long Cheap side he saw Cabbage-stocks Religion; with broken leaves of Colworts thrown away by a great cry, and the market Women, at which sight he was en- little joyned by the power to gather them and carry wool. them home to dress, and the next food to eat them.

q A man
is not
stark
naught at
first.

Going to read the Scriptures (q) he found such a strange alteration in many things con- trary

trary to what he formerly believed that he was much affected with it, and he was perswaded to read the whole, and in a short time he did believe that there was not any thing expressed there but he had the perfect knowledge of Christ (r) and that Christ that died at Jerusalem was up with a figure of him, and that himself was the true self-conceit. Christ, (s) and it was revealed to him that the dissolution of all things would be at the end of whither? 63 years, in which time by his and the rest of their God teachers Ministry, the Jewes were to be called with leave. the Gentiles who had lost the Gospel immediately after the Apostles times, from which time till now both have lain in blindness serving the Devil. (t)

He also believed he should live to the End and then Christ was to meet him in the mount of God in a multitude of bright Clouds, where he was immediately to be transformed into a celestial body where Christ and he (v) should sit judges of all; he was also perswaded, there was a greater revelation to be made manifest in him than in Christ, or the Apostles (w), whereupon he was enjoyned to spend all the time he could of piety! in waiting for Revelations, which he did. Whereupon the first time he supposed he heard excellent voices, which made sweet melody; which he believed were spirits sent from God to make known the joy in Heaven because of him, || at Gilpins which being ravished (y) he was resolved to be c. 2. pliable to that power which moved him to Raptures wait.

A short time after there appeared two spirits good. in p. 23.

^a The
like
course ta-
ken with
Gilpin.

c. 2.

(e) ^a Noscitur
ex sociis
qui non
discerned.

Hereby is

the voice

preach the

Gospel,

and Michael

should live in

him,

by whom he

should be carried

to and fro

the world,

and unable

to preach,

for this 25

daies the

power willed

him to goe

private,

and all the

25 nights

he durst not

deny the

movings

as he respected

Salvation;

yea, he did not

rest one night

with another

above one hour

in a

night:

most of this time

he had the company

of these

apparitions

, according as he was

moved to desire

them, for at desire they would

come and goe;

and when they came

they brought with them

excellent Musick,

which was

alway over his

head and followed

as he moved;

the

apparitions

making merry

amongst them

(b)

selves, dancing,

leaping,

and flying about

the

Room.

</

the seaven plagues had been powred forth on him, and because of his obedience to the spirit, two were not, and the other two were to come and that after his resurrection from the dead he should make choice of 12 of the chief speakers among the Quakers to be his Apostles. so parting from him they went to dancing, about an hour after standing by the fire he heard a noise, upon which a voice spake in him *Babylon is fallen, Babylon is fallen*: which he took the meaning of, that all in him which formerly reigned, was thrown down by the coming of Christ; being weary he went to sit down, but was commanded to stand for God was then present: about an hower after he was again overshadowed (d) and by a voice required to pull of his shoes for the place was holy, & that God appeared to him as to Moses, and the appearance to Moses a figure of this; whereon, he pulled of his shooes & was taken with great fear much trembling, pulled off his hat, and being very cold there came a great warmth over the room and then seised on his feet and with a tingling raised it self over his legs, at last over all his body, at which time he trembled exceedingly but durst not stir, the tunes of the spirits were changed into a noise of Bees & the apparitions danced, a voice said he * was John the beloved of himself as John of Christ, and John a figure of him, he after some time spake, you are the Angels of God owning what revealed, but in speaking he stammerd out of fear, then flew one of the apparitions by him saying he had blasphemed

P. 25.

^d In dark
ness all
the while

*Tolderry.

e Very
true.

med, (e) upon which all vanished, as likewise the warmth as it came then was he struck with fear and lay on the floure with his face downward, wallowing and tumbling a short time, he was moved to lye still, and immediatly came the warmth as before, then was he mov'd to rise; upon which came all those apparitions, again and one of them told him now all was wel, by the power in him he was raised on his feet, his hands, feet and body mov'd without any consent of his, then was he commanded by a voice in him to dance with the apparitions which he did the remainder of the night, and by the power was tossed to and fro and moved up and down as a spirit.

p. 27 Having restraint food about day and half, he was moved to go and eat, finding a cost of bief he was at a losse, *one spirit* saying eat, *the other no, I am the Lord* said the former nay but eat, the case examined, Judgement was determined on the other spirit, so he did eat.

p. 28.
f Very
true.

Two or three hours after in the Hall, he fancied * he saw Heaven open, whence a great blast of lightning, at which he was struck down, and immediately an extrem turning in him like as in a hot furnace for little more then half a quarter of an hour, about three hours after, he was moved to go to a meeting of Quakers, *much against his will*, but being in fear durst not deny, and there he was moved to shake, which being observed, the command was Go away; upon which the power grew so to shake

shake, teare and rent him, that he could not have contained, but enabled, it did work like a strong purge working an extreme foam. When ever did the H. G. this work; but how like to the Divell that did tear the child and cause him to foam, in the Gospell?

The next, he was commanded to stay up and wait for *revelations*, whereupon being very drowzie for want of rest, he intreated the *apparitions* he might rest that night; so he had liberty: but going up stairs, a voice in him willed him to go down so was enjoyned to stay up; and having waited a short time, he could not refrain from rest; then was he perswaded to go against the *Spirit*, but in going, it commanded him to go into the shop; having staid there about halfe an hour, he moved to go up; but going, a voice spake behind, to return; then was he commanded by that in him, to lie down and humble himself, for he had blasphemed: then he heard another voice, *Nicodemus the betrayer of Christ in the night is in thee*; at which he was extremely troubled; so lying about an hour upon the ground, he was moved to rise; but rising, commanded to lie down again; anon rising, commanded again to lie still, and so diverse tities, in the end he was raised on his feet.

In the morning he was commanded to light a fire with dead coles, and being eonfident of doing it, yea had he been master of the whole world, he should have ventured all with a value of

*b Height
of confi-
dence on
no ground* of no worth on the performance of (*b*) it: having laid all in their order, he was moved to blow with his mouth; but not effecting the thing, much troubled: then went he into the Cellar, and there the *apparitions* came, to whom he complained of failing in his enterprise, it was answered, he was not yet perfect, but yet should be serviceable in healing lame, sick, blind souls, as Christ the body, and that all the miracles wrought by him did signify what was to be offered in the souls of them that should be his doctrine.

P. 31.

For about a week after, he staid up most part of the nights, and strange things were effected by him on the *apparitions* every night. Once striving against sleep he was by the power in him cast up against the wall and there was infused into him such a refreshment, that all drowsiness was destroyed. In the morning he was moved to go to the Quakers meeting, and staying for them in the Garden, a Flie flew in his Face, he was perswaded it was a Messenger from God; from that time he was guided by Flies (*i*) in many things.

בעלוביב

P. 32.

When the company came he was commanded to put off his band, and to make known to them the order God required in his creation, which was to gather up the small sticks, and dry leaves and the small stones and pieces of brick scattered in the garden, and lay them by themselves, by diverse friends he was perswaded to give over, but then b. the first fly he saw, he was commanded to it again. Going

Going thence he gathered stones in the way
and saw two white round stones, which he
thought came from Heaven, that in him infor-
med him, one signified *Esau*, the other *Jacob*,
therefore he threw the greatest away and kept
the lesse, as also (k) signifying that in the Re-
velation, and was sent him as a token from ^{k Any} thing
what Christ. ^{pleased}

A short time after about midnight between the
sleep and wake he saw a Vision of Spirits at painter.
which he was strongly mov'd to rise, but be-
ing very drowsie fell a sleep, and dreamt awak-
ing taken with a fancy, the bed was sinking under him; upon which he was commanded to rise
and hast into the Kitchin there he was guided
to turn round, and turning saw a light on the
wall, at which he stood and looked, and so it
ceased, being afraid he went to sit, but was
mov'd to stand: looking upon the linnen soak-
ing in water for washing, he was commanded to
lay them in better order, for God was the God
of order, rememb'ring Christ denied not the least
service, he was the speedier subje&ted, upon
which readinesse he was set free.

Then mov'd to sit and look on the blaze of
the candle to be directed to service by the blaze,
or the sparkles proceeding thence but not able
to apprehend the meaning thereof, he was tor-
mented and stamp't and flew up and down like
mad (Y) he then came to the fire and was mo-
ved to look thereon in expectation to be dire-
cted by the flame or sparks, but tired in looking
^{1 Little} he

he cast his eyes upward, and seeing something swim upon a Kettle on the fire, and looking thereon he had a command from the spirit in him, *on account of salvation*, to put his hand in the water, telling him the heat should not seize on him, but through fear standing a little he saw something falling to the ground, which was a thing like a great Fly, he was then commanded to look as fierce as he could on it, and enjoyed to hold his leg to the fire, and to observe the direction of the fly to the burning of it, so the fly moved to the earth, then he went close to the fire, and there held his leg with both hands to the fire as the fly stood, so the fly moved sometime nearer, then farther, sometime turning the one side, sometime the other, sometime round then to the same place again, so he his leg accordingly; about the third part of an hour the heat burning in his leg, then the power perswaded him he would heale his leg, so he durst not make it known though burnt from the knee to the foot: being about his imployment, he was moved to give over, but not presently obeying there came diverse flies and rested on what he was about, so leaving he was moved to wrastle and war with himself three times, which he did like mad, (m) then he was given to understand this was a preparation against his sufferings and had respect to Christ's Agony, then he was directed to look about and spye a needle in his sleeve which he was moved to take in his hands and thrust both ends through his thumbs, and after-

^m Easily
believed.

afterward to the bone, then he was commanded to stand on a box by the wall, and to turn his back to the wall and spread his hands one on the other with the needle in his thumbs, and so lift his Arms over his head and then strain his Arms and Body as high he could with the backs of his hands to the wall, so to liken a death on the Crosse, and he gave way to a drowsiness as though a dying and fell on the ground as dead, he was moved to spread shavings over him, as sheets; then to tye a handkerchief on his head, then he lay on his back three quarters of an hour in imitation of three dayes, then he was raised on his feet, and commanded to make this known to the Quakers, & to make choice of some of them to be his Apostles, so he ran forth in expectation to fly by the power of Michael, which he believed now in him, but not fleeing he was much troubled; upon which he was commanded to put off his shooes, which he did, and so made way with all speed to the house and gave them to understand that Christ meaning himself was risen, shewing the holes in his thumbs upon which he was looked upon with a strange look and charged to be silent, there being many there and judging him with one consent, he was silenced. (a)

That these relations may not seem fabulous time he concludes page 45. [in the presence of the Eternal God, that he hath endeavoured to make known the truth and that to his knowledge he lies not in anything, and much of this may be

Practical
blasphem-

my.

justified by many] and after the Epistle to the Reader there is this certificate [We whose names are subscribed being certified of the contents and circumstances of the discourse ensuing, and some of us having perused a part, and others the whole of it are fully satisfied of the truth of things reported in it.

Thomas Brooks, Thomas Jacomb,
George Cokeyn, William Alderry,
John Goodwyn, John Tombes,
William Jenkyn, Mathew Poole,

CHAP. IV.

Of James Naylor.

Saw's
eirand
p. 29. 30.

WHO gives this account of himself, that he was born at *Ardislaw* two miles from *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*, where he lived untill he was married, then went into *Wakefield* parish, a Husband-man, a Souldier betwixt eight and nine years, and of turning Quaker gives this account, that he was at the *Plow* meditating on the things of God, and suddenly he heard a voice saying get thee out from thy *Kindred and Fathers House* and had a promise given in with it that God would be with him; whereat he did exceedingly rejoice, and when he came home he gave up his estate, cast out his mony, but not being

being obedient in going forth, the wrath of God was on him so that he was made a wonder to all, and none thought he would have liv'd, but after he was made willing he began to make some preparations, as apparel, and other necessaries, not knowing whether he should go, but shortly after going a gateward with a friend from his own house, having on an old Suit without any money, having neither taken leave of Wife and Children, nor thinking then of any journey, he was commanded to go into the West not knowing whether he should goe, nor what he was to do there, but when he had been there a little while, it was given him what he was to declare and ever since he hath remained, not knowing to day what he was to do to morrow.

We shall not question the matter of fact, but the question is from whom this; from God or the Divel, neither shall I spend words to resolve the doubt, the following story perused and considered, is sufficient to determine.

On the 24th. of October 1656. he entred into Bristol on Horse-back, with Timothy Wedlock of Devon, two Women leading his horse, with the Quakers Jersus. Reynsin their hands, (a) Martha Symonds and Hanna Stranger Wives to two in London, these ill lead came before him singing, *Holy, Holy, Holy,* that gives Lord God of Israel; thus he rode to the high the reines Crosse and to the White-horse in Broad street. to women

The Magistrates informed hereof, sent that night for him and his Disciples severall in number, but such was their singing *Hosanna,* and

Holy, holy, &c. with the concourse of people that their examination that night was not much, so they were committed to Newgate till next day. Saturday the 25. he was sent for again and examined, was very ready in his answers to Circumstances ; but wherein he thought the Question might discover him, he would either be silent or answer subtilly ; also denying some things put to him out of his own Book ;

p. 4.
p The Devil.

Being asked, *What was his busynesse to Bristol,* answered, *He came as he was guided by his (p) Father : Whether he was a Prophet,* Answered, *that he is the Prophet of the most High God. Que.* Are you the onely begotten Son of God ? Answ. He was the son of God, and the son of God is but one. Qu. Whether he be the everlasting son of Righteousnesse ? Answ. That he is the son of God, and everlasting righteousness is wrought in him ; and said, If they had known the Father, they would him also. Qu. Whether he were the King of Israell ? Answ. Thou hast said it, and he hath no Kingdom in the world, but reigneth in the Father. Q. Are you the Lamb of God in whom the hope of Israel stands ? Answ. That if he were not his lamb, he should not be thus sought for to be devoured, and that the hope of Israel stands in the righteousness of the Father in whomsoever it is. Q. Why came he in such manner into the City ? Ans. It was for the praises of his Father, and he might not refuse any thing moved of the Lord, and that their Father commanded them to see * it. Q. Whetker aske rode from Glossebury

* They will not worship men with putting of the hat but take worship from men as is due only to God.

Cap: 4. **Of James Naylor.**

101 ^c Very probable he did not own her his wife.

bury and Wells some did not spread their cloathes on the ground before him, and sing *Holy, holy*? Ans. He believed they did. Qu. Whether he had a wife? Ans. There is a woman the world called bis (c) wife.

p. 10.
d The God of this world

October 27. Dorcas Erbury one of his Disciples was examined before the Magistrates of Bristol. Quest. Why did you sing *holy, holy, &c.* before James Naylor when he rode in? Answ. She did not, but they that did were called to it by the (d) Lord. Q. Is James Naylor the *holy one of Israel?* Answ. He is so, and she would seal it with her * * Goodly blond. Qu. And is he the onely begotten Son of confessor. God? Answ. He is the onely begotten Son of ^e She speaks plain. (e) God. Qu. Why did you so honour him as to pull off his stockings and put your cloaths under his feet? Answ. Because he is the Lord of Israel and Woman! worthy of it. Q. Do you know no other Jesus & Whether the only begotren son of God but him? Answ. I not a know no other Saviour but (f) him. Q. Do you poor believe in James Naylor? Answ. I do believe in soul be (g) him. Q. What Name do you give him? A. misled? The son of God. Q. What do you call him usually? A. I am commanded to call him Lord and Master and to serve (h) him. Q. Hath Naylor written raised from the dead? A. I was dead two dayes, the very he laid his hands on my head in Exeter Gaol, and said; Dorcas, arise. Q. Jesus sits at Gods right hand, and shall judge the world, Doth Naylor thus? A. Naylor shall sit at the right hand of a sinful man not

The Magistrates sent to a Parliament may a God.

copy of these Examinations, and upon Report to the House, a Committee was chosen to take notice of it, and a Messenger sent for Naylor.

p. 6.

The Magistrates sent Naylor for London 10. November with four Disciples of his, Stanger and his Wife, Martha Symonds, and Dorcas Erbury. Upon the 15th. the Committee met in the painted Chamber and had Naylor in Examination. Q. Did you reprove the Woman for holding the horse bridle ? A. No but I spake to them about it, and they said they were moved of the Lord to it, Q. It is laid to your charge, you did assume to your self the fairest of ten thousand. A. If any spake it to that of the Father in me, I dare not deny for its beautifull in whomsoever begotten. Q. Do you own that of being that only begotten son of God ? A. I am the son of God. Q. Do you own being the King of Israel ? A. I have no Kingdome in this World, but a Kingdome I have. Q. Do you own the title King of Israel Prince of peace. A. It is but one and that of God born in me is the King of Israel, Jesus Christ is the King of Israel is manifested in me, and I own. Q. Have any called you the Prophet of the most high God ? A. I am a Prophet of the most high God. Q. Is then that worship due to you which was to Christ ? A. If they did it to the visible they were to blame, but if to the invisible, that worship is due to me according to my measure as was due to Christ. Q. Then you say that worship was due, and to that which you call the invisible in you, to you as was given

given to Christ at Jerusalem. A. Yea. Q. How (i) They many weeks have you fasted without bread. A. will not Two or three. Q. Did you live without any food all that time? B. Yea.

give civil
worship
but take

divine, is

Upon the fourth of December report was made to the house, &c on the fifth he was brought not this to the Commons-bar where having his Examination taken before the Committee read unto him, and asked whether things were thus, he answered yea, and denied not any part thereof. Whereupon the house agreed on the matter of fact, and adjudged it horrid blasphemy and he a grand imposter, and deceiver of the peoples and ordered him close prisoner.

p. 13.

After 8 or 9 dayes debate on the 16 of December, it being carried that the question for his death should not be put, the house Voted his punishment, that upon the 18th. of December he stand in the pillory two hours in the new palace yard with a paper of his crime on his breast, and then presently to be whipt by the Hangman to the o'd Exchange, on the 20 to be put in the pillory for two hours before the exchange, and then bored through the tongue with a hot Iron and stigmatized with the letter B in his forebead, afterwards by the Sheriff of Loud. to be conveyed to Bristol & there ride through the City on a horse with his face to the tail, and then publickly whipt through the Town, and by the Sheriff's of Bristol to be conveyed to Bridewell in London, there to be kept close prisoner from company, pen, inck, and paper, kept to hard labour and not to be released till further order.

Naylor's
punish-
ment.

[December 17th. he was brought to the bar to receive the sentence on the 18th, the sentence in palace yard executed upon the indisposition of body, and a petition of some for respite upon that account, the rest of his sentence was deferred for a weeke.

p. 16. On the 23 of December there came neer about an hundred men with a petition for the remitting the rest of his punishment, delivered in by Mr. Joshua Sprigge (k) and subscribed in the first place by Col. Scrope, the petition being not like to take, they made their addresse to Oliver Cromwell, as follows.

A Worthy man.
p. 17. Sheweth] that your petitioners (having out of tendernes to the good cause of our spiritual and civil Liberties) concerned in some late proceedings of the house of Parliament, and to the good of these Nations and Government thereof appeared in a petition to the Parliament, for the remitting of the remaining punishment of J. Naylor, which petition is received into the house and rests there; we humbly conceive it our duty also, in consideration of the joynit interest which your Highness with the Parliament hath by the instrument of Govern-
m What a ment in the Legislative power to make our humble do for a addresses to your Highnesse (m) that you will be wretched pleased, according to all former declarations, blasphem- and the experience we have had of your Highnesses care of this tender interest of Liberty of Conscience, to weigh the consequence of these late proceedings and according to the 17th. article of the instrument and one of the grounds you declare upon

open in the war with Spain, your Highnesse will stand up for the poor people of God, (n) in this day, wherein your Highness will not do more right is Naylor to your petitioners, then to your self and these one of Nations. (o)

December 26th. his Highnesse sent a letter to the house as followeth.

Having taken notice of a Judgement against James Nalyor, although we detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions or practises, yet being interressed in the Government and not knowing how far such a proceeding wholly without us, might extend in the consequences of it, do desire the house will let us know the grounds whereon they have proceeded.

This Letter caused a great debate, and answer was not then agreed upon, but another day appointed, in the mean while the Parliament ordered Naylor the remainder of his punishment, which upon 27th. of December was executed on him, and so sent again to prison.

At this time of his being in the pillory, one Robert Rich standing by him, placed a paper over Naylor's head, wherein was written, *This is the King of the Jewes.*

January 16th. he was sent by the Sheriffs of London to Bristol, and the Sheriffs of Bristol before that, had a warrant under the Speakers hand to see the sentence executed as far as they were concerned therein.

January 17th. Naylor took horse at Lawford gate

gate and rod on the horse bare ridged with his face to the tail through the City without Redcliff-gate and there alighted & was brought to the middle of Thomas street and there stript, and then tyed to the horse to be whipt from thence back again to the middle of Broad-street.

P. 20.

Naylor
favoured.

This order to the favouring of him, was sent to the Keeper of Newgate by one not named by the Author.

Cause Naylor to ride in at Lawfords-gate, from thence along Wine-street to the Tolsey, thence down High-street over the Bridge, and so out at Redcliff-gate, there let him alight and bring him into Thomas-street, and cause him to be stript, and there made fast to the Cart-horse, and in the Market first whipped, from thence to the foot of the Bridge there whipt, thence to the end of the bridge there whipt, thence to the middle of High-street there whipt, thence to the Tolsey there whipt, thence to the middle of Broad-street there whipt, and then tane into the Taylors-Hall, there release him from the Cart-horse, and let him put on his cloathes, and carry him thence to New-gate by Tower-lane the back way.

And whereas of custome the Bellman goes before and makes Proclamation of the offence of the Offendour, yet here the Keeper commands the Bellman to the contrary, and suffers one Jones to hold back the Beadles arm when striking, and in all the way the Bell rang but six times.

And one Robert Rich rid bare before him, singing,

singing, *Holy, holy, who December 15. sent in to the Speaker this Letter.*

If I may have liberty, I do here at the door attend, and am ready out of the Scriptures of truth to shew, that not any thing James Naylor hath said or done, is blasphemy or worthy of death or bonds.

Many other Quakers accompanied Naylor, and when he was going to horse, at the Gate used these Expressions :

Behold the Lamb of God, saith one; This is the Corner-stone which the builders refused, another; They shall look upon him whom they have pierced (and wept,) another; Let all the Angels in heaven worship him, another; Give honour to whom honour belongeth, another.

p. 22:

Yet this very Naylor, January, 16. the night he came thither, at the Lamb without Lawfords-gate was suspected to have a woman in bed with him; for in the Oath taken before the Mayor, sworn by Thomas Jefferies and Ruth Harris, the Maid and Tapster saw a woman at 10 a Clock at night on the further side of the bed, and covered, lying with her arms over the Rug; and the Maid did swear that about 5 of the Clock the next morning the woman was lying in the same place and manner.

After this, the Sheriffs of Bristol sent him to the Governours of Bridewell, London, who before had received order from the Speaker, as to that

that of the Sentence wherein they were concerned, were he was kept prisoner till of late he was discharged by them that then bore sway.

C H A P. V.

*Clark's
mirrour.
c. 63. p.
262.*

*a For
which
they com
paſſe*

I. *A*bout October, 1653. certain Quakers came into North Wales about Wrexham Land ha- to gain (*a*) Proselytes, at their meetings ; after ving been long silence, sometimes one, sometimes more in France, fell into great and dreadfull shakings with such Holland, swellings in their bodies, sending out such New Eng- shreekings and howlings as not only frighted the land, Bar- beholders, but caused Dogs to bark, swine to bados, &c. cry, and the cattel to run about. One William So eager Spencer lying with one of them three nights, of New England the last night was much troubled and could that very not sleep ; on a sudden, he heard something death it buzzing about the Quakers head, which affrighting him, he sought to rise, but the Quaker per- would swaded him to lie still, and immediately there not de- rose ter them.

Chap. 5. Of sundry Quakers. 109

rose such a storm as shook the house ; then he again attempted to rise, but the Quaker pressed him to lie still, and expect the power to come, he then again heard the former humming, so that he strove vehemently to rise, but the quaker ^b Very laid his head on Spencers shoulders, and did like. blow like the hissing of a Goose (*b*) several times toward his mouth, which made him leap out of the bed, crying for a light and guide to conduct him forth, and so left them altogether.

2. October, 19. 1654. A Minister went with some friends to a meeting of Quakers at the house of one J. Hunter in Benefield side in Durham where he found about twenty sitting silent, after a while the minister of his own accord, rose up to prayer, but his legs so trembled that he had much a do to stand, but after he had prayed a short space, the trembling ceased, whilst he prayed to God as a Creator, there was but little disturbance, when in the name of Christ then (*c*) the Quakers roared, in a strange and hideous manner, howling, squeaking, yelling, roaring, and some had a strange kind of hum-^c Enemies to Christ for all ming noise after he had done, he was amazed to their talk. see about the one half of them so terribly shaken that it was a wonder they liv'd. In the midst of this confusion one of them asked him, if he was come to torment them ? As he was departing out of the house, one said, *all the Plagues of God be upon thee. (d)*

p. 263.

3. July 10. 1656. one reasoned with a Quaker,

^d Very Christian like. Quakers Jesus.

p. 505

ker who told him that he did thank God he had burnt (e) the bible and diswaded him from reading it any more, or praying any more but

(e) R. B. to hearken to the light within him.

Querries

20 do not

some of

you say

the bible

ought to

be burnt?

4. The same year diuerse quakers being met together in a Town in Essex there appeared one amongst them in such a shape as caused them to break up their meeting with no small terror to many of them.

Clarks

Mirrour.

p. 271.

5. A Quaker the same year being put into Prison at Cholchester abstained from all food for diverse days together, when he was prevailed with to eat, nature was spent, and when he would have eaten he could not, and so died, his name was Parnel, fasted eight or nine dayes : after he was laid in his grave, a Quaker waited by his grave to the end of three days expecting his resurrection, but not rising he ran mad and so continued many weeks.

Hellbreke
loose.

p. 54.

6. William Paul a professed quaker servant to George Knight Clothier of the City of Worcester on Febr. 1657. at even went out of his Masters house, and some dayes after found dead and naked with his Face downward in a puddle of water, his cloaths lying by, the inquest found him guilty of self murther, his friends on 22 of Febr. had interred in Claynes Church-yard two miles from the City, and after he had been buried six or seven hours one Susannah Prison a quaker

Hellbreke
loose.

p. 56.

quaker in that City undertook to raise him from the dead, wherupon she took three or four of her way, went to the place, caused his body to be taken up, laid on the ground, opened his shroud, touched him and called him by his name, saying *arise and walk*, with other expressions, many being present, but she returned with shame.

7. A Female quaker about four or five years since came into Whitehall Chappel stark-naked on the Lords day, the Minister being in the pulpit, a great Congregation being present.

p. 32.

8. A Maid-servant at Putney at her Masters house, when he and many friends were at Dinner with him, came into his Parlour amongst them stark-naked, and another day stark-naked from her Masters house through Wandsor and to Lambeth, or neer it, where some Water-men, by force, stop'd her, and carried her back. It was said, she intended to have entred London, over the Bridge, and so to have gone through London streets unto Westminster.

p. 33.

9. In Summer, 1659. in Colchester a Man-quaker went stark naked through all the Market, and on a Lords day in the same posture entred into the greatest Assembly in that Town, walking unto the further end of the lower cross through many people and then returned, and

p. 33.

and from thence to a great company of quakers in that Town, where he did for a long time act the part of a Speaker, and when he went naked he had a brother waiting on him, carrying his cloaths after him.

10. The same Summer a Man-quaker went naked down Cheapside.

11. This last Summer, at Colchester, many of them on the *Lords day* have opened their shops and followed their handy-crafts calling for many weeks together; the like hath been done severall Lords dayes by them in London and Southwark.

12. At the same place this Summer a woman brought her needle-work into a Church, and fell to work and singing, while the Minister was officiating, not much unlike, in London by a woman in Lawrence-Church.

13. At Aldermanbury, London, a quaker after once being frustrated in his attempt; did while the Psalm was singing, before the Minister went up, got into the Pulpit, there late on the cushion with his foot on the stool or seat, and with a needle and thread sowed a pocket, untill pulled down; since which, he hath printed the reason following of his so doing, that he could have no rest in the light his spirit till he had done it. (f)

f This is within.

The

The person was *Samuel Eurles*, and as he him-self relates it p. 2. he sat down upon the Cushion stark with his feet upon the Seat (where the priest naught.) when he hath told his Lies doth sit down) sowing a pocket, so that the people lost their Song.

14. Since that, in the same place, and time a man Quaker came into the Assemblie stark naked, his hands and Arms all besmeared with Excrements, and there are that have had the face to justifie him, that he might as well come ^g You see with such filth in his hands, as the Minister with how they value it. a Bible.

15. *Nicholas Kate* of *Harmel* in *Berks* about the ^{Ford and} yeer 1656 came into *Newbery* between 8. and 9. *Fowlers* in the morning, on the *Lords day*, and so walked answ. to starck naked through a long street, who for many ^{Speedp. 75.} Months before, had not lived as a Husband with his Wife, left his own Family, Land, and Stock of a very considerable value, entred upon by persons whom the Country esteem *Ranters*, his Wife a weak diseased Woman, who brought him a valuable portion, left to the mercies of light is not those persons. ^h

16. A Physician in *Lincoln* with his consent was Hell broke made a Quaker for 24. hours by a Quaker, who loose. p. 36 he privately convicted to be a man in popish orders Other like beyond Sea : the agreement was, that at the end instances of 24. hours, he should cease to be a Quaker, that follow, which so fell out, but he affirmed that for that strangely time; he could not choose but preach and pray, argue with at the Quakers rate, but at the end of the time whom they he found himself exceeding weary, and as indis- deal.

I
posed

posed to such work as ever.

Is this 17. Some Quakers killed their Mother, following *the light within them*, which caught them light with- in them? they ought to destroy the original of sin, and by or rather the said light, they apprehend their Mother to putting it be the Original, and so embrued their hands in her blood, this relation is in Mr. William Keyes Minister of Stokesby, in his answer to 18 Quar- ries, who was with them in prison.

Hell broke 18. A Maid in London, met by a Quaker who loose. p. 46 addressed himself to her with suits of Love, was perswaded to drink with him, he took something out of a paper, and put in the drink, and in dis- course told her, *She should come after him, and not he after her*, the Maid after this found pres- sing inclinations to go to the Quakers meetings,

Note. and was brought into strange raptures. and her mind much turned against the Bible. & Some of her godly friends kept a day of fasting and pray- et for her, with whom she was, though with much reluctance; while they were seeking God, she was greatly tormented, her body so much swelled, that they were fain to unloose her *God can cloathes to give her ease, but before the dayes cast out* work was finished, she was delivered from this the strong sore evil, the Substance of this relation was had from the Maids own mouth.

pag. 47. A woman so low in p'rts, that she was look- ed on not much better then a Natural. being at a Quakers Meeting in Buckinghamshire not far from Ailesbury, was suddenly so transported, that with much liberty and confidence she spake in their

their tone in matters above her , and continued in those raptures for about two dayes , but after fell into a grievous rage , cursing, swearing, and blaspheming , crying , Fox a Divel , a Divel , a cheif Quaker present at the meeting , and so continued a day or two , till she dyed .

20. A Gentleman inclined to the Quakers , ther this (though his Wife not) brought Fox the Quaker into her Chamber , who laid his hand ^m on her forehead , after which she became a Quaker ^{witchcraft} for a certain time , this was related from the ^{pag. 48.} Gentlewoman's own Mouth . ^m

21. One in Kent going to a Quakers mee-ⁿ ring , was there so wrought upon , that he such fell to dancing , and afterward went home un-^{things fall} der great alteration of mind , the violent im-^{not under} pression of which soon ended his life , having ^{cogni-} before he dyed , in his violent fits complained ^{zance.} grievously of Fox his holding him in Chains . ⁿ Quakers

22. February 5. 1659. one Lewis Harris a ^{Jel. 5. p. 55.} Quaker , having been in the Country , came home to his house at Bristol , and meets with William Hill a Quaker , and he asks Harris why he fell from his principles , and further discoursing of their way , they came to blows , and Harris murders Hill , for which Aug. 31. he was at Bristol executed , this Harris had a Letter from some Quakers , which when on the Gallowes he conveyed to a minister were him , which the minister presently tore , upon which , some Quakers present , what will you persecute to the death .

P. 49.
More of
him. t. 34.

23. Christopher Atkinson a grand Leader of the Quakers, and a prophetical impostor for a good while together, had very immodest familiarity (to say no more) with a woman of this way, in the sight of Mr. Walker, then Minister at Kendal.

24. November 21. 1653. the Wife of Edmond Adlington of Kendal, went naked through the streets of the said Town.

25. George Fox, meeting with one Mr. Nichols in Carlisle, told him that he was an Hypocrite, he asked him if he knew his heart, he said he did; he asked him again, Fox affirmed lie and all gain he did, he asked if he knew his name, Fox Without answered, I know by thy Questions thou art an Hypocrite, shuffling so to evade his question to whom Mr. Nichols answered, dost thou know the needle but not my heart and not know my name? p

26. A Weaver followed a Company of Quakers from Coaton to Cambridge, intreating them all the way, what their Religion was, and how he might come to be of their Religion, they gave him no other answer but this, that he should follow the light within him, he asked them what Left him in the dark it was, and they would not tell him. q

27. A Quaker brought one Lords-day, an old Doublet into a Church in London, and sate on the Communion Table mending it, while the Minister was preaching, the Parishioners forbidding him. The Church was Doctor Gells. And it being demanded whether this in him was a Quaker replies in print to him that made the

the Quæry, he sinned not, wilt thou still continue a Papist? R. B. at the end of the gagg.
p. 7, 9, 36.

28. Certain Quakers ran after *Henry Daryl* a ^{R. B.} _{Quaker. scd.} Tanner of *Richmond*, almost a mile, whilst he was walking to see his ground, and told him with open mouth, that the Spirit of God sent them to tell him he was a *Seducer of the people*, one of the corrupt *Clergie*, while it is commonly known, he neither is, nor was, a *Clergy-man* nor *Preacher*. Concerning this story, a Quaker answers, thou and thy brethren lies, Reply. Witnesse *H. Daryl*, *William Williamson* and diverse others in *Richmond*.

29. In September 1659. there was a discove- ^{A gagg for}
_{Quakers}
ry of diverse *Witches*, in and near *Sherburne* in _{after the} *Dorsetshire*; there being nere two hundred of _{Epistle.}
them at one meeting, most of them *Quakers* and *Anabaptists*, three Men, and two Women, ^{Whether} formerly *Quakers* committed to *Dorsetshire* _{at last.} *Coale*, who have confessed on examination, and since their commitment, to sundry of qu-
lity :

1. That when the Devil first appeared to them and tempted them to become *Witches*, he per-
suaded them to renounce their *Baptism*, which they actually did, before they made a contract with him.

I 3

2. That

2. That he did oft visibly appear to them, in sundry forms, and perswaded them to fall down and worship him, which they did.

3. That he instigated them to torment, be-
* You see witch, and destroy Mr. Lyford, Minister of whom the *Sherburne*, who being tormented with a pain- Devil is so ful and sharp disease, dyed; and Mr. Bamfield set against his Successor, whom they have forced by their Witchcrafts to desert the Town. *

4. The two Women confess to all, that the Divel hath oft had actual copulation with them in sundry shapes.

5. Since their Imprisonment, he hath frequently appeared to them all, and actually possessed them, bruising, tearing, tossing them frequently up and down the Prison, in a strange manner, tormenting them with strange fits of Convulsions, quakings, shakings in all their joyns, and swellings in their whole bodyes, that their Skins are ready to break, which makes them cry and roar with great horrour, as Eye-witnesses of quality attest.

The Po-
ture of
Quakers.

Q. 10. *In Sanles Errand p. 4. 5.* it is confess'd, that at some of their meetings, many men, wo-
^{p. 3. f. 6. at}
^{end of A.} men, and little children, have been strangely wrought upon in their bodies, and brought to gagg.

* The thing there is not deny- ed but pal- liated.

R. B. p. 21. Q. 72.

30. In *Sanles Errand p. 4. 5.* it is confess'd, that at some of their meetings, many men, wo- men, and little children, have been strangely wrought upon in their bodies, and brought to fall, foam at mouth, roar and swell in their Bellies, and whereas it is answered, that is a Lye, it is replied, Let the Reader consult the Book, and beleive his own eyes.

31. *Thom. Holm of Kendal, went naked as he was born, through the Market place at Kirby-Stephon*

Stephon, one Market day Octob. 28. saying, 'Tis not I, but God, that goes naked. See the Witness-^{Horrid.} ses in the 5. New-castle Ministers answer to I.N.

p. 84. —

32. The Lord Cheif Baron Wild, the first day ^{Pag. 22.} Q. 78. of the Term, and Novemb. 11. 1659. was bareheaded, and twenty Quakers about him, with their hats on, half an hour together.

33. James Mitener, a follower of George ^{Pag. 23.} Fox, professed himself to be God and Christ, ^{Q. 87.} Sauls Errand p. 2. and gave out Prophecies, viz. that the day of Judgement, should be on the 15. of November, 9. * and that there should never sit Judge at Lancaster again.

34. Was it not a sin in Christopher Atkinson, R. B. fellow Preacher, and bosome companion to George Whitehead, to comit frequent fornication ^{Q. 89. 90.} 91. with Ursula Servant to Thomas Symonds, as both he and she confessed before the Mayor of Norwich, and July 4. 1655. run away from Norwich-Goale, and carrying thence goods not his own, and after he professed Repentance for his lewdnesse with Ursula, did he not practise greater Villanie at the George Inne in Thurton, six miles from Norwich. See the relation of these matters, printed for Franklin, and attested by the Maior of Norwich.

35. A Female Quaker, wastaxed, for break- Quakers ing of the Rule, Let the Woman keep Silence in Folio, 2. the Church, for it is not permitted for them to speak. replied, it was spoken of Women that have Husbands at home to learn of, but I have none and am a Maid.

36. Also-

36. Another, who was a Wife, being challenged for preaching publickly, and that Scripture urged against her, *I suffer not a woman to teach and usurp authority over the man,* readily replied, that was spoken of the Woman who was in the transgression, but I am not one of them.

P. 1. of the
in the end
narrative
of Q. F.
Vol. 2.
Papista pe-
jor.

37. One of them lately at Dover, when he came to die, upon the Question put to him, how he expected Salvation, answered, that he expected Salvation by his own works and not by Christ. Witness Mr. Davis Minister at Dover, our hearty prayer to God is, that we may neither thus live nor dye.

Q. Folip
v. 2. nar-
rative p. 2.
1659.
Reckoned
without
his host.
"They are
much be-
holding to
him for his
care.
pag. 3.

38. At a late meeting of the Quakers, in Hurst-peirpoint in Sussex, the Speaker called out to the Minister passing by, *We will have you all down, for now our day is come.*

39. Another in Nuthurst parish, in the same County, did say to a godly person of good quality, in that parish, that he no more cared to kill one of the Priests, then he would to kill a Dog.

40. Another Quaker way-laid the Minister of Cowmould, and jostled him on the high way, and drew out his Sword about half way, but from further was prevented by others coming in.

41. Mr. Wingfield Minister at Word, did testify under his hand, Aug. 3. 1659. that Luke Howard of Dover Quaker, did say in his hearing, July 25. 1659. upon the Road neer Dover-castle, that it was revealed to him by the eternal God, that

Cap. 2. Of Sundry Quakers. 321

that the priests shall be destroyed, and by the people who are called Quakers.

42. E. B. Quaker. p. 2. in his *Word of Advice to the Soldiers*, saith, Oh! give the Priests blond to drink for they are worthy.

43. On the Lords day 18. Sept. 1659. W. Nay-lor Brother to James, came into the Savoy Church Mr. Hooke preaching, and made such a bellowing, that it seemed to be rather the Divel in him, then his own voice, Mr. Hooke was necessitated to hold his peace, many sadly affrighted, that some ran one way, some another. * Testified by Mr. Hook, his Wife and others.

44. Octob. 6. 1659, at a publick thanksgiving p. 4. at Christ Church, London, the Parliament, Lord, Major, Aldermen, Common Council, Officers of the Army, being hearing Mr. Caryl, two Quakers made a very great disturbance.

45. March 5. 1659. Mary Todd of Southwark, Quaker, at the Bull and Mouth, while some were speaking, pulled up her Coats above her middle and walked so up and down a while, using several base expressions, Mr. Thomas Cresset, Chirurgeon, an Eye and Ear witness.

C H A P.



C H A P. 6.

Of their Opinions.

Y which you may easily discern, how far they are from being sound in the faith, and take along withal, this aggravation [let their tenants be never so diametrically opposite to the written verity yet they will farther it upon the Spirit of truth, and he must be made the immediate inspirer of these falsities, not being ashamed to make him grossly contradict himself, but also to beare witness to a lie.] for when they want a Shadow of Scripture, then they will stamp their error with the Image and Superscription of the Holy Ghost immediately revealing, and Christ the light within them, must be made to hold out palpable darkness.

Therefore they lay down as a foundation-truth a blasphemous falsehood, to build their Structure

of untruths upon, viz, [That their dictates are equal to those of Christ and his Apostles.] a Herein not unlike the Papists, who for the better establishing of their Churches authority make.

a R. B. Questions to whitehead
at end of the gagg. p. 3. f. 7.
do not you esteem your speak-
ings to be of as great authori-
ty as any Chapters in the bible.
Answ. yea of greater.

I. The

1. The Pope an infallible judge.
2. Unwritten Traditions equal to the written word, therefore Bellarmine hath,

Verbum dei scriptum, & non scriptum.

To make this evident concerning the Quakers.

1. Mr. Camelford Minister of Staffy Chappel Lancashire, having told *Ibom. Atkinson* (in answer to his Quarries) that his Quarries were condemned to the fire, George Fox replies, you might Truths defence, p. 2.
not have condemned the Scriptures to the fire. And by Fox &
without breach of charity we may affirm the Hubber-
burning of the Scriptures would not have been thorn.

a There are Quakers that have done it as before, and though it be answered, it is a wicked lie, yet see your Book entituled, *Truths defence*, writ by Fox, Hubber-thorn, p. 2. l. 13. and divers other Books, wherein they prefer the Scripture to the fire, and their own Books to mens reading, as more useful for these times. R. B.

Again some of them assert that they have as full b a measure of the Spirit, as the penners of the scriptures had *] the fulnesse of the Spirit is well known by the emptinesse of their fruits, had they said that they have as full

Q. ibid. b. There fulnesse is of the evil one.
p. 3. Q. 10. at the end of Gagg.
* *Truths Defence* p. 43.

a mea-

measure of the evil spirit, as *Marcian primogenitus diaboli*, the first born of the Devil, *Polycarpe* calls him, they had come near to judgment.

This corner-stone, being laid by these Master-builders of Sathan's Babel, they go on to den-

I. The personal body of Christ.

George Fox being asked whether Christ had a body in heaven, and be a particular man person, encompassed with a body to live forever, yea, or no, affirms, *That Christ hath but one body, and that is the Church*] That 1, *Christ's mystical body, corpus mysticum, is the Church* and that 2, *This is but one*, is according to truth answerable to that we beleive, *Sanctam Catholicon Ecclesiam, the Holy Catholick Church*, b[ut] 3, *That Christ hath but one body*, is contradictory to the whole History of the four Evangelists which so often speaks of that body which he took of the Virgin Mary of whom Christ saiz[a] after the flesh came, as *Paul* phrase it; and how he ascended and shall come again. *Oullos* by Luke acquaints us *Acts 1, 9, 10, 11. Shall so come in like manner, as ye have seen him goe into heaven*. But this is not the first time that this Heresy hath been broached nor confuted, many a hundred years ago were these things upon the stage of the World, *dic mihi aliquid novi aut tace*, trouble us not with old rotten stinking errors.

Secondly,

(2)

Truths
defence
P. 78.79.

Secondly, In their book called, *The persecu-*
tion of the Quakers; First, the corporeal Body of
Christ: And secondly, his coming in the Clouds to
judgment, are denied. 1 pag. 8. Priest Herrick
did affirm before the Magistrate and many o-
thers, that the body of Christ is not spiritual;
and when he was by William Adamson challen-
ged for his blasphemy, he said he would prove
it by Scripture, and produced those words Christ
said, *I am not a spirit*; and then he was by him
charged with a lie, for there was no such words
in that Scripture. 2 p. 9. Let their own words
try them *who look for a Christ yet to come*; as
some of them said, what will yee Quakers do,
who saith Christ is within you, when Christ
comes in the clouds, here now all people do but
honestly examine and see whether these spirits
confess Christ, who looks for him yet to come,
and whether you dare believe the Apostle, *every*
spirit who doth not confess Christ Jesus come in the
flesh, is not of God, or these deceivers, who look
for him yet to come; these things are so palpa-
bly gross and weak, yea even irrational, that
their needs no words to the misproving of
them.

2. The Visible Church.

Whereas a Book entituled *fiery darts*, saith, R.B.Q.aoi
p. 26. that since the Apostles dayes there hath
been a great Apostacie, and that a true Church
of Christ could not be found, are you of the
same mind? Answ. yea. Herein agreeing with
those

those formerly called Seekers. 1. That there was, and is a great Apostacie, as the Scripture foretold, so experience hath evidenced, and that Apostacie in all ages more or less hath been witnessed against; but 2. such an Apostacie as hath wholly destroyed the Church, and laid it so under ground, as that it cannot be found, what this? &c. what is this? but to make much of Scripture at present of no use, which directs us concerning Church Communion, among other Heb. 13. 17. obey them that have the rule over you and submit your selves, for they watch for your souls.

2. To invalidate those promises of Christ Matth. 16. 18. Upon this rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of heaven. And Matth. 28. 20. Lo! I am with you already, to the end of the World. 3. To give you this whole World, visibly into the hands of the Prince of the World, as if Christ alway had not overcome, but being overcome by Sathan.

3. Thirdly against the Scriptures.

1. That it is dangerous for the ignorant and unlearned to read the scriptures. 1. How far is this sense. pag. from the assertion of the Papists? 2. How doth it justify them in their prohibiting of Lay-men to read the word. 3. and makes fair way to usher in Imagines laicorum libros, Images as Lay-mens Books. Secondly, If any raises from the Scriptures points, trials, motives, uses, he add to the Script-

THREE

thems, and to him are added the curses and plagues, In eadem
Rev. 22. 18. Whether this? but 1. to destroy ^{loc.}
all preaching, 2. to condemn their own selves.
3. to discover their ignorance, between the ex-
plaining of Truth, and coyning of falsehoods
to passe as new truths, their additions are cor-
ruptives, the Ministers for illustration, infor-
mation, incitation, to edification, 4. to con-
demn Christ and his Apostles, which applied,
and urged, in many places of the Scriptures,
out of the old Testament cited. 3. That the Fiery davis
Scripture is not the word of God, nor a standing rule.] p. 19. 30.
In this way are grossly ignorant, or wilfully ^{32.}
malicious, or both, they will acknowledge Quakers
no word of God but Christ, as if no difference ^{folly} p. 25.
between verbum internum & externum, an inward ^{2d. Ed.}
and outward word, verbum oris & Scriptum, the
word spoken and written, the thoughts of my
mind are soliloquia a talking with my self, what
I speak is the word of my mouth, and what I
write is my word under my hand, Christ is the
eternal, internal word of God, the Wildome of
the father, the Scriptures, much of it was spo-
ken by God by the mouth of his holy Prophets, and
all written, as holy men of God were inspired by the
Holy Ghost: they would seem to exalt Christ,
it is to debase the Scriptures, and deifie the light
within them, but if they will not hear Moses
and the Prophets, which testified of Christ, nei-
ther would they Christ the word of God. Heb. 1. O Ses
8. God wh^o in sundry times, and in diverse man- ^{λαθάρας} is τοῦ
spake in times past unto the Fathers by the Pro- προφῆταις
phets

phets] was not that then the word of God the prophets spake? 2. And why not a *standing rule*? The papists indeed say it is a *nose of wax* a *leaden rule*, that the Pope may stand; and so for the upholding of your unscriptural revelations, the Scripture must not stand, but when we shall all stand before the judgement Seat of Christ, we shall be judged according to this rule, and thereby stand or fall. 4. That it is not a perfect rule of faith and Conversation to walk by.] 1.

Though the Scripture say it is able to make the

2 Tim. 3. man of God perfect. 2. The papists and they con-
17. ~~desire~~ cur again, the papists to establish *papa decretalia*
~~desire~~ the Popes decrees, the Quaker to make way for
~~desire~~ the reception of the light within them, be it the
Jor. 17. ~~desire~~ Prince of darknesse, and that his delusive revela-
n. 17. ~~desire~~ tions may be swallowed and followed. 5. That
Jam. Nay. An- it is the Devil in man that contends for the Scriptures
for 5. An- sver to to be the word of God. Here is Equivocation, Ig-
Jews p. norance, Blasphemy, either one or all; for if
22. he takes the word of God for Christ, none e-
Naylor's ver affirmed it; if for that God spake by the
Answer to Paxter. mouth or pen of his Servants, then it is a grosse
p. 48. calumniating of the holy Spirit. 7. That the
light which is in all the Indians, Americans, and other
Pagans on earth, is sufficient without Scripture.]

1. It is much that Scripture should not, and yet natural light is. 2. That the light which is so weak and dimme, should be so strong and cleer. 3. That what discovers nothing of Christ, should enough to heaven.

4. Against

4. Against Ordinances.

Even all at once strikes Gotheson in his *Alarum*, pag. 2, and elsewhere; "The man Christ Jesus, the great Prophet, declared in general terms, what should be in latter times, leaving it to every Son and Daughter, to declare their particular experiences, when the Spirit doth rise up in them, and manifest himselve unto them, for they that believe, saith he, out of their Bellies shall flow Rivers (or plentifull discoveries) of the Water of Life, therefore as Moses gave way to Christ, for when Christ appeared in the flesh, Moses administration began to be silent, and drew back, and set Jesus Christ in the Chair, to be the great Prophet, that should be the teacher in Types after him, and the ministrations of those discoveries, were to reign in the world their appointed times, even so the Lamb Christ Jesus, or that single body, gives way to the holy Ghost, or spreading spirit, John 16. 7. 17. 21. If I go not away the comforter cannot come.

Here is much of truth, but mis-timed, and abused, to the destruction of all Christs visible Kingdome: it is true. 1. God sent Christ the great Prophet, that to him, 2. Moses gave way, 3. that the present administration will cease, 4. but not till he hath delivered up the Kingdome to his Father, Ephes. 4. 13. 5. that the sending of the Comforter, did but further

the Apostles, to plant Christs visible Kingdome, and now as a sanctifying and comforting spirit, is conveyed by Ordinances, and makes them profitable.

Quakers Suitable to this tenet is that Speech of Mr. *Fisher*, in conference with Mr. *Thomas Foxton* Junr. 2 Ed.

rate of Sandwich, and Thomas Barber, Cooper of Dunkirke, May 12. That he himselfe was above Ordinances, and that there is no more use of them in tis life to many persons, then there is of a Candle light when the Sun shinnes, and he gave instance in the vtelesnesse of Baptisme and the Lords Supper.

Truths defence, p. 98. *James Pannel, and Nay-
tors an-
swer to Ives, p. 14.* 1. Water-Baptisme denied to be an Ordinance of Christ] 1. It is their way to set up appointments of their owne, and throw down Christ's, they must

*G. White-
heads, Cains Ge-
neration, p. 11.* be heard, but Christ not obeyed. 2. When and where was Water-baptisme abolished? first the in-

stitution, and secondly practice is full and cleer: 3. But it must be Water-baptisme with them, not so

*March. 1. shew the Elements, but your contempt of the Ordin-
28. 19. nance, * and alwaies they that esteem to high of*

Acts 2. 8. their own things, think to low of Christis.

*36. 10. 47. Non di-
Ringuunt in Lancashire queries, whether did not Christ in-
sed nomen contem-
nunt.* 2. Concerning the Lords Supper, Mr. *Kellet* in

Hubberthorn answers, That Christ spake not of Bread and Wine, but the Bread which Christ calleth his Body, is to be understood of his Church, but the Cup which thou drinkest we deny, for thy Cup is the

Cup of Devils, and thy Table is the Table of Devils, which is an Idol and imitation, and thy Sacrifice is

*Richard Hubber-
thorns Truths
defence, p. 99. 100.*

to Devils, and not to God. And is this from the Spirit of the Lord? Oh! the patience of the Lord, to endure such breath of Blasphemy, this is so contrary to *Faith and Charity*, that it shall not need more words, then the Angels disputing with the Devil, *the Lord rebuke thee.*

3. *Preaching the Word, Praying, Singing, are not good appointments of Christ, but inventions of Men.* ^{*Exhortation} They do well to strike at all, nothing of God, ^{He broke} that is in the Word of God, are not all these ^{loose, pag. 27.} things there required? who so ignorant as need ^{Against} to be instructed where? but it seems they are all ^{one} such builders, as would not leave a ^{worship.} ^{Naylor a-} *stone upon a stone.* ^{gainst Raz.}

4. *Against Sabbaths.* No Sabbath to be kept, ^{ter, p. 25.} and indeed they that deny ^{the ordinances of the 32, 33. a-} day, no wonder if *the day*. And in this their practice is suitable to their doctrine, even in con- ^{against our} tempt of Gods day, and *Magistrate*, daring to o- ^{singing} ^{David's} ^{Psalms,} pen Shops, and exposing wares to sale, taking no ^{p. 28.} notice of the morality of the *fourth Command- A few ex-* ^{ment, nor the Churches practice in the Aposiles aitor.} dayes; it is in vain to note the universal custome ^{Answ. to Edward} of the Churches of Christ ever since, but they ^{Brock's let-} think to carry the day the better, if they can ^{ter, p. 9,} bear down the *day of the Lord:* but oh! that they would remember his burning wrath breaking out against *Sabbath-breakers*, in our *Land and dayes*, if they will not let others read *Birds The- ater, Burton's Tragedy*, and the *sad state of the land* since the *book of Sporis.*

Richard Farne- 5. Against Ordination. *The Ministers of God never were sent forth from God, by a mediate send- worths an- ing, but were immediately sent]* The tendency of swer to the Westmer- this is first to destroy the Ministry, since the Apo- land Mini- lles, and secondly to make way for the recep- sters Peti- tion of themselves as Prophets and Apostles, they tion, p. 5. exclude us, that they may reign, but what then be- Goliah, p. comes 1. of Timothy, 2. of those Elders ordained 7. Truths defence, p. in every City, 3. of those directions given to Titus 96. and Timothy: but it seems their design is to down- ward &c. with all, and by bringing in New-light to extin- guish all, and to leave us in worse then Egyptian darknesse.

5. Against Original Sin.

Proud Pharisee That the Doctrine of Original corruption, is a Soul-destroying, God-blaffemng doctrine] Surely reprobated, those that boast of perfection are perfect nowhere, P. 13. neither in their hearts nor words, not so much as ad integratem, to soundnesse, but wholly corrupt, denying Original Sin, the old Pelagian, Ar- minian, Anabaptistical error, so much against first clear Scripture, and secondly sad experience, first the Scripture paints us to the life, what by Na- ture, and what born; secondly, and we our selves discover our selves, even going astray, as it were visibly from the Mothers womb. Oh ! that they which pretend so much to the extraordinary mind of God, should be such strangers to their own hearts.

6. Against

6. Against Justification.

1. That this is a blinde doctrine which preache, Hel broke
that rightenesse which justifies is not in them, loose, p.
2. He that hath a covering for his sin, no nearer 22. 23.
then above the Stars, will one day be found naked. Burroughs
3. The Obedience of Christ, and of the Creatures, is Firmin,
not two Obediences but one. 4. That Christ bought p. 21. u
us not with the price of his blood, that was shed upon Naylor a-
the Crosse at Jerusalem only! These tenets, 1. how ^{against}
derogatory are they to Christ? 2. how comfort- Higgenson,
lesse to sinners? 3. how crosse to the designe of p. 8. & 22.
God, to exclude boasting? 4. yea how pernici- Truths
ous to Souls? first, in tempting them to the re- P. 95.
jecting the righteousness of God, of Faith, of Christ,
and secondly, seeing after a righteousness of
their own, which they shall never attain unto.
5. How neer of kin to those positions of the Pa-
pists de justificatione? but either we must stop our
ears to such doctrine, or refuse to open them to
plain Scripture.

7. Against religious Education.

That for Masters and Mistresses to make their
Servants read Scriptures, and to bring them to the Proud
publick Ordinances, argues a persecuting Pharisee
spirit, and is a seeking to detrone Christ, and is trea- P. 37.
son against the King of Saints, and his tender Lambs!
What is this? but first to load with calumny and Gen. 19.
reproach, that which God highly commends in 19.

Abraham; secondly, and to deter men from that which God in the Old and New Testament doth so enforce upon them. Thirdly, but all is of designe, that first, so Children and Servants may be left as a prey to them, secondly, and God altogether forsaken in the next generation, and his name not named among men.

8. Of Light within.

To shew they are in Darknesse, and would hold men there, they assert heterodoxes concerning the *Light within*, as

Answ. to *Wesmer.* 1. That the *Light* which is in every one that comes *Wesmer.* into the world, shews a mans sin and evil, and the de-
Petri- ceipts of his own heart] They are strongly confuted
tion, pag. 14. in holding out their *Light*, and know not how,
well to distinguish inter conscientia naturale a na-
tural conscience, & mentem divinitus illuminatam,
a minde illuminated with Gospel revelations:

Joh. 3. 9. they finde Christ called *the light*, and of him said,
Φωτὶς that he lightneth every one that cometh into the world,
σαντα and that in men naturally there is a Conscience
αιθρωπον̄ excusing or accusing, and these things they
ἐρχόμενον̄ εις τὸ κοστον̄ strangely jumble together: that natural light,
μον̄ lux concreata ut natura insita, doth and will con-
vince men of many sins, is undeniable teste experi-
r Jer. 17,9. encia, by experience, but that by the light thereof
עקב the הלב a man may come to the knowledge of all trans-
הלב McCל gression, and be able to see into the bottom of
וְאנוֹשׁ his heart r, who but an ignorant one in Gods
חוּא מִ יד ענוּ word will affirm?

2. That

2. That it is pure, and whosoever believeth and fol- Naylor's
lowes it, shall not abide in darkness, but shall have ^{answer to} Harris,
eternal life] Then Christ is in vain, if righteous- p. 11.
ness could have been by the Law. Christ dyed in vain, & Truths
s but in as much as it was weake, God sent his Son, defence,
&c. so if life could have been by natures light pag. 86.
what need Christ have come to be a light to ligh- Gal. 2. 21.
ten the Gentiles ^{sawday} u that were without God, and Rom. 8. 3.
Christ, strangers from the Covenant, aliens from Luk. 2.
God w. through the ignorance that was in their 32. φαστις
mindes x. αποκα-
λυψεις εθ-

3. They make it all and every thing, quidlibet ^{sawday}.
ex quolibet as appears by those assertions of theirs. Ephes.
1. Christ is this light, 2. it is the Light and Spirit of 2. 12.
Christ, 3. it is the Light, Spirit and power of God ^{x t} p. 4.
Salvation; 4. the perfect Law of Liberty; 5. the Naylor's
Lord God, and the Lamb is the Light within me: answer to
6. it is the Light of the Covenant of Grace. 7. It is Higgenson,
God. and when Paul committed the Saints to God. p. 6. Wicke
it wa to be light within them; 8. it is the word of weighed,
Faith, 9. Reason and understanding, 10. a perfect p. 22.
rule in every mans Conscience; 11. that in a man Farnworth
which is just, equal, and righteous, telling him he against
ought not to do wrong; 12. that from which the Hagger, p.
Scriptures were given forth; 13. the same thing ^{57. Naylers} answer to
with the light and life of Adam in Paradise, 14. No Higgenson,
other thing then the light of the Gospel; 15. the p. 5. Farn-
same light with the anointing, both in Believers, and worth a-
gainst
in Unbelievers. Hagger.

A pretious thing, if they could tell what, but p. 54.
Naylers answr to Harris, p. 15. Farnworth against Hagger, pag. 48.
Burroughs against Firmin. p. 18. 19. Answer to Bork, p. 6. 7. Hubber-
thorn against Winterton, p. 8. Burroughs answer to Bunyon, p. 18,

Truths
defence,
p. 67.
Esay 8.20.

אַיִל
שָׁהַר

thus they speak, because the Light is not in them, but by this Light a man may see a *designe* of darkness, there is, as 1. to take men off from the *Scri-*
pires: 2. To lul asleep their own Consciences, when they alone shall be judge of their own a-
ctions. 3. To prepare them to receive any di-
ctates, that an impudent fellow shall dare to im-
pose from the *Light within him*. 4. To give men
up into the immediate hands of the Devil, to be
absolutely at his command, when he shall
strangely suggest any thing to them, taking his
impulses of darkness to proceed from Consci-
ence, Spirit, Christ, God within them, as is plain
in *Gilpin*, and *Tolderroy*.

These are grand Errors, *Heresies*, *Blasphemies* of theirs, razing the very foundation, leading men from *God*, *Christ*, *Scripture*, unto the *Devil* and *Destruction*; other grosse absurdities there are, for *uno concessso sequuntur millia*, but because we have sufficiently raked already in a filthy Dunghil, we shall but onely name them,

I. That of Perfection.

Naylor a-
gainst
Ives. p. 13.
Firmin
against
Hueger,
p. 7.

That those that have received *Christ* and *God* are come to perfection, that all such as are *Christ* are without sin! Alas! poor men, their perfection is verbal; their imperfection real, they are perfect Talkers very imperfect Walkers, he that is not blind may see your nakednesse, that they impudently boast of, they are far from, only they glory in their shame, and count their unrighteouenes for righteousness; if to be proud, railing, cursing,

sing, and blaspheming, seducing of Souls be to ^z Phil. 3: be perfect, then are they such, far better men ^{12.} οὐχι have bee ⁿ far more humble, ^{οὐτε} not that I have alrea- ^{δη} ἔχασθαι, dy attained, saith Paul. In many things we offend ^{οὐδὲν} οὐδὲν τε- all, ^α and he that saith he hath no sin is a Lyar, ^α and ^{τελείων} the truth is not in him. ^{a Jam. 1.2.}

2. Of Discerning.

That the Saints by the Spirit that is in them, can Answer to judge of mens hearts, and that such judging is Christ's Pendarress ^{P. 7.}
judging of men, and that Christ shall judge nowhere ^{b 2 Cor. 5.} else but in the Saints.] Miserable men! that know not themselves nor their own hearts, and yet ^{10.} It is pretend to the knowledge of others, contrary ^{πάντας οὐ} ^{μᾶς φανε-} to that, who knows the things of a man, but the ^{σωδῆντες} spirit of a man that is in him? And it were a hap- ^{δεῖ μηπο-} piness to them, if they should not all ^b appear ^{δεῖ τὸ Σύ-} before the judgement seat of Christ to render an ac- ^{μαλός τὸ} ^{Xεῖν, οὐ} count of the things they have done in the flesh, for ^{κριτικός} God hath appointed a day in which he will judge the ^{ἐκτινός τὸ} world, by the man Jesus, of which he hath gi- ^{διὰ τὸ σώ-} ven witnessesse in raising him from the dead, as ^{ματός} ^{τεγές α} Peter hath it. ^{ἐπαρχεῖν.}

Other strange Doctrines have been broached by some of them. Nicholas Kate of Harwel in Berke, 1. That Marriage was made by man. 2. ^e In doctrine false, That Christians were worse then Beasts. 3. That any in praction was as free to him as his wife. 4. That his wife was no wife of his, she was a Limbe of the Divel. 5. That he was holy, and all things that he touched were holy. 6. That when the fulnesse of time was come he could work miracles, ^f Holy St. Nicholas. ^g In good One time.

h 1 Cor 15. One of Bristol being at Marleborough in the County of Wilts affirmed, 1. He knew no such thing as the Resurrection of the body. h 2. That the body of Christ was not in heaven, neither should he come thence with a body. 3. He defended those that went naked. 4. That he went to bed with a woman not his wife without sin. k 5. That he was confident of his perfect holiness.] One would wonder that a very short.

This is stand together, but being delivered up to strong but one delusions, they believe a lie, and by a new light part of his perfection from Hell, even extinguish the very light of nature, till God in Hell shall raise it up again: that beside a conceit of perfect holynesse, could be embrased with confidence by such an unclean person ! confident.

If the Reader will trouble himself with more, he may read these following,

Tolderryes 1. That Edens garden is the world, the trees all foot out of living beings, that Paradice is in man, that men the snare. fell by harkening to the wicked, which was the fleshy mind, and that not the woman properly, but the silliest and weakest part was the woman that tempted him, that Adam was the earthly nature in man.] and indeed there are extremes to which they are delivered up, viz. 1. To take some Scriptures in the strictnesse of the Letter against all sense, reason and other Texts; 2. To Allegorize and make a mydus in rebus stical meaning, the main and only sense of words that are historical and literal, m

Act. 4.13. 2. That the Redeemer of man, is not that person ~~the Son of God~~ the Son of God, that dyed at Hierusalem but the light thereof. which is in every particular man, by which he is given

ven to see sin, n and enabled by it, if obedient to be Kate could
redeemed from sin.] What is this? o But 1. to e- not or
vacuate the whole mystery of redemption. 2. when he
setting up a righteousness of works. 3. yea ma- went to a
king corrupt conscience in fallen man a Saviour. neither wo-
mans bed. 4. and fallen man sufficient to save himself.

3. That searching the Scriptures is not the way to
find out the Knowledge of Christ, but the turning the
mind within.] Contrary to that of Christ, search
the Scriptures, for they testify of mee. p

^{p Jo. 5.39.}
^{Q. Fol. 2.}
^{v. in fine.}

Questions proposed to, and answered

By Joseph Frice. Quaker.

Quest. Whether the Scriptures be the rule of trying and judging all matters of Faith and
obedience to God?

Answ. I prove not Joh. 5. 22. The father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgement to the
Son.^a

Quest. Whether the light within be sufficient to proof if a
guide to Salvation, if you never had heard of the Bible?
<sup>a A worthy
see where
the
strength
lay.</sup>

Answ. If I had never seen nor heard of the
Bible, yet believing the witnesse which God hath given, which is Christ, the light, hope,
and glory in us, I should have attained to the
Knowledge of God.^b

Quest. Whether the teachings or writings of any or false.
of your way be infallible or of equal authority with
the Scriptures?

Answ.

Answ. I say, we do not erre in speaking or writing the Truth, and that of God in all consciences, shall one day witnessethis to be true and infallible, and the Scriptures, and our writings, hath and will most certainly come to passe.

Quest. Whether the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, be three distinct persons in the self same Godhead?

Answ. Three distinct persons I deny, it is like the Bishops in Rome, may own thee in them, for that is some of their unfruitful works of darknesse.

Quest. Whether Christ hath a divine and humane nature in one person?

Answ. Thy words Humane nature, I return them with those words three persons, into the pit of confusion from whence they came.

Quest. Whether Christ remains for ever a distinct person from all the Saints.

Answ. but as for being a distinct person from all the Saints he is not.

Quest. Whether the true Chnrch hath failed upon earth, since the death of the Apostles, until now? If not, in what age or ages, or among what people hath it continued?

Answ. He can send all, both great and small, rich and poor, bond and free, to receive a mark in their foreheads, or in their right hand. Rev. 13. & thus the true Church ceased, since the death of the Apostles, until the raising up of Gods own seed out of the earth, to stand a witness against wicked

wicked murderers and persecutors of the Saints
and true Church of Christ.

*Ques^t. Whether the first day of the Week be more
holy then any other of the Week?*

Ans^w. All the dayes of the Week, as the Lord
created them, are holy unto the Saints, who
are redeemed from observing dayes and months,
and times and yeers.

*These things are expressly asserted
and subscribed.*

Joseph Frice.

Chap.

h 1 Cor
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A&t. 1. 11. thence with a body. 3. He defended those that went
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Now what shall we say to these things? 1. Is it possible that ever such things could be entertained as truth, were not that executed *qui d'avoit* the Apostle speaks of, *being given up to strong delusions to believe a Lie?* 2. Shall they be hearkned *vèry eas* to by them that have received the gospel. Is it not *πλάνη* another Gospel r that they bring. 3. Can we look *sevoumavu-* upon these dark and ungodly *Tenents*, as light *rēs tō* leading to more godliness & greater perfection *γιδη.* is the broad way to Hell, the narrow way to *Gal. i. 6.* Heaven? 4. How can these men be received, *euayjéla-* and bid God speed? but we must be partakers of their *ov.* evil deeds, were they *miniora* small differences, *s 2 Joh.* the strength of Charity might bear them, but *II. ὅρλέ-* surely these *horrid tenents*, that overthrow foun-*χαιρεν,* dations, and practise of them, wast the consci-*νωνετε* ence, and destroy godlinesse, are intollerable, *τοις επ-* and the last Love and Zeal to God and Christ, *τοις αὐτοῖς* and Souls of men can never bear them. *τοις πονη-* *σοῖς.*

Chap.



C H A P. 7.

Of Sundry Blasphemies against God, and Railings against his Ministers.

For their tongues are set on fire of Hell, as James phrases it, and they have not withheld setting their Tongues against heaven, and to bring railing accusations against the Messengers of the most high, a little of this is too much, the Christian Reader will be quickly weary of it, and therefore we shull not be long.

I. Of their Blasphemies.

Perfec
Pharisee

p. 3. I. That they are equal with God, as holy, just,
Affimed and good as God himself.] Pardon me, if here
by George my pen fail me, who can tell what to say to such
Fox and blasphemous sayings? Humility is a sign of grace,
J. Naylor before such pride of the fulnesse of iniquity, the Angels
witnessee in heaven vail their faces, but these impudent
who arrest Creatures, Devils incarnate, dare outface hea-
r. ven, and vie with God, there is but one step
Sauls er- higher to ascen, that they are above God, but
rand. p. 58 certainly if God give not repentance to such
Lancaster wicked
Petition.

Cap.6. Of Sundry Blasphemies and Railings. 141

wicked wretches, they will be below the worst of Heathen, for they may not be called Christians. 2. That the being of God is not distinct from Ford and them that are begotten by him. 1 ignorant creatures Fowl Ans. that scarce know anything that is, thus to prate ^{to} Speed. concerning the being of God, of which the ^{Atkinsons} sword of wisest and holiest men know rather, *Quid non sit*, the Lord. quam quid sit, what it is not, then what it is. 3. Houghill that the nature and glory of the elect, differ not from and Bur- the nature and glory of the creator, for the elect are ^{rougs} Ans. one with the creator in his nature e-joying his glory. ^{to Reeve.} Neither knowing God nor themselves, the finitude of the creature, nor the infinitesse of the Creator: because God speaks much of the one- pharisee nesse and greatnessse of their glory, therefore pag. 6. can there be none but identity of nature, and at the equal participation of glory *quoad omnia* in eve- end of the ry thing? they may as well confound all, and ^{gag.p. 14.} Is it not say the creature is the creator, that the cause is railing a- the effect, and effect the cause, that a thing is against fa- from another, and that thing is it self, they have ther, Son, not only lost their Religion, but reason, pride & ig- and Holy norance, hath made these men more equal to lay [these the Devil then God, and indeed they almost say 3. shall be as much in *totidem verbis*, in so many words. 4. damned, That God is not distinct from living creatures. 5. That shut up in the Soul is a part of the Divine essence. 6. That there is perpetual no distinction of persons in the Deitie. *Notwithstanding the expresse naming of them in Scripture. lake and 2. And their peculiar properties. 3. As likewise the pit J attributing to every one of them, those things as you say which are only effected by a God. 7. That Jesus Ishmael p. Christ 10, l. last.

Christ is God and man in one person is a lie.] whereby they run themselves upon extrems, either with old Hereticks, as *Paulus Samosatenus Arius*, &c. or making him instead of one Lord Jesus Christ two with *Nestorius*, or confounding the divine and humane nature, making a mixture with *Eutychus* and *Dioscorus*, &c. 8. That Christ was a man, had his failings, for he distrusted God on Gilpin.p.2. the Crosse.] quam bene convenient? How well these things hang together. 1. They must be equal to God, r Heb. 4. Christ but a man. 2. They perfect, but he a sinner: 15. Xaph^s Which besides that it makes. 1. him uncapable ~~of~~ to save, is 2. diametrically contrary to the word, Perfect he was made like to us in all things, sin only excepted. Pharisee, p.8. 9. That whosoever expects to be saved by him that died at Jerusalem shall be deceived.] when Christ, unless you believe that I am he, you shall aby in your sins, w and Peter, neither is there under heaven given any other name, whereby we may be saved. x 10. Ford a- That singing Davids Psalms in English Meeter, is against to sing the Ballads of Hopkins and Sternehold Speed. King James his Fidlers, and to sing them, is to turn H. Clarke them into Lies and Blasphemies,] They would dis- in his De- annul the duty of singing, they accustoming scription of the pro- themselves to howling and roaring, contrary to phets. p.9. that ot James, is any merry let him sing Psalms. y 2. Neither can they sing David. Psalms in Davids Fr. Gav- ler, See Language, 3. Neither are they able to judge how Antichrist well, or how ill they are translated, but are in māth, by ready to speak ill of what they know not. 11. Mr. Miller. that that word i. John 1. 8. If we say we have no P. 7. sin, we deceive our selves, was spoken by the carnal man.]

man.] It stares them so in the face, they would fain out-face it, and so overturns their Doctrine of being without sin, that they would willingly overturn it, and will venture upon calling the *Ap-*
postle a Carnal man, rather then themselves should not be thought perfectly spiritual. 12. For our giving forth Papers or printed Books, it is from the immediate, eternal Spirit of God, and for the simple ones sakes, as we are moved by the immediate spirit of Christ to write to teach, to exhort, or to put in Print: *Trybute Defence*, p. 104.) How then comes it that Gotheson Ep. 4. 5. is fain to write against others of his own, and call to them to recall their Tenets and repent. 13. All their Railings, Curseings and Blasphemies, they Father on the Holy Ghost, and make them to proceed immediately from the eternall spirit of God in them: as may appear.

2. Of their railings at Ministers, and slandering of them.

Only whatever they say is little in respect of what before, and there can be no wondring at their Blasphemies against Men, when they have thus opened their mouths against Heaven, and if they have done these things to God himselfe, no wonder if such to his Servants, but to speak their language, with which they often salute the Ministers.

That they are of the Synagogue of Satan, and know nothing of God, but are enemies of God, being guilty Hel broke loose, p. 35.

a Their
hearts
they
know.

b And they lowe, following the wayes of Balaam, and Cain,

Q or real flesh, worse then Simon Magus, knowing nothing of the

c Thats life of the Gospel, that they are Heathens, wallowing in

d They of God are to be poured; blind guides, proud Baals

have little Priestes. Lyars, Blasphemers h enemies to Christ

e VVhat Iesus Murherers, Sorcerers, Whore-mongers chil-

dallors ac- Ani brists, Antichrists Merchants, Robbers De-

ceivers, Ministers of the World i Cunivers, Devils

Be sure to of a Serpentine Nature, a brazen faced Bast. Coven-

ough. tions Idolatrous, Priests, Thieves, Divelish Priests,

Mis- as Priests of th. world Foxes, Ministers of Anti-

they use. christ, proud Pharisees, envious, malicious Priests,

f The best that ever Egyptians, Sodomites, Gog and Magog, a seed of

he had. Iev Id ers, children of the Devil, blind Watchmen,

hope. Backbiters, Railers, Seducers, Tgs' masters of AE-

b They Q grie, devouring Lyons, Firebrands of Hell Sons of

not guilty. Belial. I shall but adde here one passage for II.

z VVorse Naylor against Baxter, p. 30. "Thou askelt if

"it will be for the peoples profit to despise their

"Teachers, and Guides? I say you who have

"despised Christs commands, to set up your

"own Lusts and Pride, Covetousness and false-

"Worship must be despised and when such

"Guides are discovered, then shall the people

"profit, when they come to be guided by that

• Spirit

“ Spirit God hath given to every man to profit
“ withall, which you will keed them from as
“ long as you can, that you may fill up your mea-
“ sure, and wrath come upon you to the utter-
“ most, being captivared by the Devil. Soul and
“ Body ; the God of this world having blinded
“ your eyes, so that the Gos, el is hid from you,
“ and you lost, setting up the Letter instead of
“ it, having denied the light, and erred from
“ it, are got up into hardness of heart, impri-
“ soning, beating, making havock like rude
“ Beasts, what ever the Devil did where he
“ reigned so do you; being the head of the Ser-
“ pent, which Christ is come to bruise, as he
“ did in his own person, so be is the same brood,
“ who now are found in the same bloody plots a. So Prince
“ gainst the seed of God, worse then ev: r any, ed.
“ seeking the lives of others for practising that
“ in life which your selves will preach in words
“ for Money, such a generation of raging Beasts
“ was never yet in the world, who seek to devout
“ on every side you, and who departs from sin
“ is your prey, the greatest deceivers that ever yet
“ come, now when you come to be revealed,
“ who would have believed that you who have
“ had so many millions of pounds, for teaching
“ people to forsake sin ? and now if any declare
“ that he hath forsaken it, and is set free, you
“ preach it down as the most dangerous error
“ that ever was.

Full of Slander, empty of Charity, and who
can ascribe this but themselves to the good spirit
of God,

Enough, *ne quid nimis*, surely they are angry, and I am apt to think the Ministers have hit the Devil in them a sound rap of the nose, that makes him to roar so loud. But yet they are not altogether foolish, there is some wit in their anger, though it be but *Serpentine*.

The end
of their
railing
without
end.

1. Hereby would they alienate the Peoples affections from them, present them so ill, that the people might get no good by them.

2. To get esteem, and gain by what others lose, they would by this be thought exceeding zealous, none like them, for God, Christ, and Souls; truly had they kept in their poyson when they vented all this, they might have been better thought on, but to be so evill themselves, while they are making others so, is not politick.

3. To prepare the Ministers for more, to exercise them with their tongues, that they may better rye their hands, this is but a paper of Devils set on your heads, before your bodies be brought to the stake; but might I advise, men should first stop their Eares, secondly, bridle their Tongues, thirdly, shun their company, and fourthly, let them be branded for hideous Blasphe-mers, notorious Railers.

C H A P.

C H A P. 8.

A short account of a dispute at Cambridge, Aug. 1659. between three eminent Quakers, and one Scholar.

Aug. 25. T. S. of Chr. Col. returning home from Saint Johns Library, saw George ker d^a Whitehead preaching in the Quakers common armed meeting House b, when Whitehead had done, he Pres. conducted his Doctrine, but considering how apt ^b Over silly women were to be misled, he sent ^c the following to the Mair^d; hoping to reclame in the end Sidney his c Wife, who it seems was then a Quaker. Col.

Whereas George Whitehead delivered, first, ^e The Ma-
hat they are not ttereticks, second, teach no other jors.
ut what Abraham and Christ, and thirdly said,
hat the Scriptures are not the Word of God. I am
eidy at any hour or place: 1. to prove these
else: 2. to make good my Arguments last used
gainst him. 3. That it is a sin for him to preach
or any such) or for any to hear him.

Chr. Colb. T. S.

The Major sent for Whitehead, who before him wrote,

1. That we do not open a door to Heresies.
2. That we are not Hereticks, because
3. We do not teach any Heresy d.
4. We walk not in the steps of Hereticks.
5. That the Bible is not the Word.

d So it is
a signe.

e Quan- And this he would maintain e against T. So the
sum posuit at what time and place the Major should appear

f His positions to be writ, saying he would defend same
strength them also f.

was great, 6 The Scriptures doth not say, if any man say he
or wit be hath no sin, he deceives himselfe.

7. I deny that this is a truth [if any man say he
g But the bath no sin, he deceives himselfe as concerning the N
Saints on Saints g.

Earth will 8. It is not a sin for me, or any such man to preach he
say so. b Some of or any to hear us.

them ac Aug. 27. T. S. not hearing of the time and V
cording place of mee ing went to the Major to know ons
to this re what was resolved he answered, the Alderman l
lation too, were not willing it should be in the Town pub
willing their com Hall b, so that if there were any dispute, it must be
mon be in the Quakers common Meeting-house. but to p
meeting several Aldermen were not willing there should He
should be be any, and that he would not advise T. S. T
in the own. to dispute, whereupon T. S. resolved, not just

A dispute between 3 Quakers and one scholar. 151

to dispute against the minde of the Corporation.

Modest
and sober.

Aug. 29. came this from W. co T. S.

Friend, T. S. this is to certifie thee, that according to our agreement, when I was with thee, I am willing to give thee a meeting, and seeing no other place is appointed, I intend to be at our Meeting place this day about one or two, where I may exspect thy appearance, according to thy promise to me, first to produce thy arguments, &c. subscribed. G. Whitehead.

Immediately he received another, from Mr. James Alders. Sir, I was called this morning to Mr. Majors, and there I was told, that it is the desire of the Quakers to meet you at their house of meeting, they begin to think you are afraid to meet them, &c. ¶

Notwithstanding T.S. continued in his Chamber, till one came from Mr. Alders to tell him, the Quakers were met, and reported that T. S. did not dare to come, thereupon he went.

When met, G. W. told the people, the Questions to be disputed were; 1. Whether it were a damnable sin for him to preach, and secondly a damnable sin for any to hear him. But T. S. began as the propositions lay in his paper, and so went to prove; tba. Quakers do open a door to damnable Heresie.

T. S. he that writ Ishmael and his Mother cast out, opens a door to damnable Heresies, but you write

¶ Crow
before vi-
ctory.

A dispute between 3 Quakers and one Scholar.

writ that Book, therefore. Whithead answered he did not write it all, for there is somewhat scribbled in it. T.S. asked if he were the Author of but scribbled in it, he answered, about three years ago, I and four more wrote it between us, and said that he would own it.

*m Multis
manus
vatur o-
nus.*

T.S. further urged, *All Papists open a door to damnable Heresies, you who write this Book are a Papist therefore.*

W. I am no Papist.

T.S. He who refuses to take the Oath of abjuration is a Papist, he who writes this refuses to take the Oath of abjuration, therefore a Papist.

*n a notorious
Quaker as before,
o So put
off the o-
dium of
refusing
the Oath
of Abju-
ration,
it is no du
commission to shew, but what all the damnable Her-
etics to curse, reticks in the World do or may shew, that man opens
r. il, and a door to damnable doctrines: But you pretend to be an
blaspheme Embassador of Christ, and have no commission to
p VWhat is
that to shew but what all the damnable Hereticks in the
them, but
a blind.*

Here George Fox n made a long Discourse to prove that it was not lawful for a Christian to swear, o and would have had T.S. proved it was lawful to swear, who answered it was beside the Question. Here the Majors Wife entreated T.S. to lay aside Whiteheads Book, and dispute from Scripture.

So T.S. did from. 2. Cor. 5.20. He who pretends to be an Ambassador of Christ, and hath no commission to shew, but what all the damnable Heretics to curse, reticks in the World do or may shew, that man opens r. il, and a door to damnable doctrines: But you pretend to be an blaspheme Embassador of Christ, and have no commission to p VWhat is that to shew but what all the damnable Hereticks in the them, but a blind.

W. I have my Commission from Christ, and did ever any Heretick pretend a Commission from Christ.

T.S. Yes, David George, Socinus, Arius,

c and

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and all the Hereticks I ever read of.

W. They could not prove it by the effects as I,
i.e. shew the people converted by them.

T. S. They could; Arius converted a nation
of Infidels to Christianity, and his opinions
in a short time spread so far, that all the World
seemed Arian. q

W. But did the Hereticks live good lives? q Totus
mundus eß

T. S. It is confessed that Arius and his did, Arianus,
that Pelagius did, and I remember that no Sect-
master that did not.

Here Whitehead would prove himself no Heretick, from 2. Pet. 2. 1, 2. Hereticks are those
that deny the Lord that bought them. I do not deny
the Lord that bought me, therefore--

T. S. I deny the Major, all Hereticks do
not deny the Lord that bought them, the Apo-
stle instances but in one sort, even the worst,
who would even deny the Lord; it followes not
hence, none are false Teachers, or false Pro-
phets, or Hereticks, but such as deny the Lord
that bought them. r

W. I have Christ within me, therefore I culari ad
do not deny the Lord that bought me, universate
non valeat consequentia.

T. S. You do not prove your Major.

Here being silent. T. S. Out of this place urged against him, He that writ Ishmael and his
Mother cast out, even denyes the Lord that bought
him, but you writ that Book. There the Major he
further proved, He that denyes Persons in
the Trinity, and calls him Dreamer and Conjurer
who asserts hem, saying, that a man who saith shew
M be

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be 3 persons in the Trinity, shall be shut up with them in perpetual darknesse for the Lake and the pit, that man is an Heretick, even denying the Lord that bought him, but you George Whitehead deny the 3. persons in the Trinity, &c. This Minor was proved out of the Book it self, p. 10. the 3. persons shoudreamest of, which thou wouldest divide out of one like a Coniurer, all are denied, and thou shut up with them in perpetual darknesse for the Lake and the Pit.

Here Fox made a long Discourse against the Trinity.

T. S. I came not to hear you repeat a deal out of Paul Beast, I came to dispute.

Fox. Prove there be 3 persons.

T. S. 1. Joh. 5. 7. There be 3 that bear Record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these 3 are one.

Thus, If the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be 3 He's, then 3 persons, but they are 3 He's therefore--

Fox. What mean you by 3. He's.

T. S. Three that may as it were be pointed at he, he, he.

Fox. I do not like that argument.

T. S. Therefore further, are you three Persons that dispute against me?

Fox. Yea.

T. S. Prove it.

Fox. We are in 3 places, and therefore 3 persons.

T.S.

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T. S. Therefore replied, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost have been in three places, and therefore 3 persons; at the Baptism of Christ, while Je-s^s Argus came up, the Holy-Ghost down, and the ^{mentum ad} ^{hominem.} Father in heaven.

Fox. Persons have flesh and blood. t

^tLearned-

T. S. Angels are persons and have not, one ly. of them said, Angels are not persons. *

^u Well

Fox. A person is a subsistence.

versed in

T. S. So are Father, Son, and holy Ghost.

Metaphy-
sicks

T. S. Further argued: He who denies the Bible to be the word of God, saying that to assert Scripture to be the word of God, is one of the deceitful imaginations which the Priests of this generation have deceived the people with, that man is an Heretick: But you deny the Bible to be the word, and tell Mr. Townsend, that to assert it, is one of the deceitful imaginations which the Priests of this generation have deceived the people with: See Ishmael and his mother cast out. p. 1 .lin. 1. therefore-- This was not answered, but Fox said, they cannot be three persons, because they were not visible in several places.

T. S. If Christ was man, and the holy Ghost was in the form of a Dove, then they were both seen.

Fox. Prove that they were seen in several places.

T. S. One was seen in the water, the other ^w Fox out. could not or would not see.

Fox. Prove they were seen. *

156 A dispute between 3 Quakers, and one Scholar,

T.S. Many beheld them both.

Fox. The Holy Ghost could not be seen.

T.S. He was in the form of a Dove, therefore
could be seen.

Fox. Not in the form of a Dove, but in the
^x Rare. likeness ^y, hereat some laughing, he answered
^y Surely that he was seen, but not visible. ^y

his religi-
on, reason,
and wits
were lost.

By this relation it is visible to be seen,

1. Their boldness.

2. Their crowing without cause.

3. Their inability to argue.

4. Their little or no learning. ^x

5. Their strange opinions about the Trinity
and Scripture.

^x At least that any ^y and Scripture.
of them will be known of.

6. How they run beyond all reason and sense
to defend their tenets.

Lastly, Their obstinacy, when neither Scripture, reason, nor sense can convince them, their
damnable errors and stupid obstinacy will surely conclude such men Hereticks.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

A brief relation of three Disputations at Sandwich
April 1659. between Fisher, Whitehead,
and Hubberthorn Quakers, and Mr. Danson
Minister there.

1. Disputation, April 12.

S. T.

Quakers

folly, p. 1.
Edit. 2.

Quest. **W**Hether every man that cometh into the world be enlightened by Christ?

Danson. We grant every man hath some light by which he discerns, though dimly, many, i. Sins. 2. Duties. 3. Divine Attributes; but the mysterie of godlinesse, 1 Tim. 3. ult. God manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, &c. we deny that all men have the knowledge of.

Hubberthorn. The light is but one.

Danson. The lights mentioned, 1. Naturall, and 2. Supernaturall are two, though all have the one, yet few the other: If your meaning be that the knowledge of the Gospel is vouchsafed by Christ to every man, I prove the contrary

Page 2.

i. Psal. 147. 19, 20. He sheweth his Word unto Jacob, his statutes and judgements unto Israel, he hath not dealt so with any nation, and as for his judgements they have not known them.] By the Word, Statutes, and Judgements are meant the knowledge of the Gospel; and the Psalmist asserts

O

serts no nation beside the Jewes had this knowledge at this time.

2. *Ephes. 2. 12.* Speaking of the Gentiles before Christ, the Apostle sayes, they were without Christ, strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world.] They who had no hope, that is, no ground of hope of salvation, were ignorant of the promises, the ground of hope, and so of God in Christ the object of hope, and so of the summe of the Gospel.

Page 3.

Geo. Whitehead. Rom. 2. 15. sayes, *The Gentiles have the Law in their hearts.*

Danson. It is spoken of the natural light, for its opposed to the knowledge of the Jewes.

Whitehead. It is said to be the knowledge of whatsoever might be known of God, Rom. 1. 19.

Danson. The Apostle intends, that what might be known of God, without the preaching of the Gospel, was known to the Gentiles, vers. 16, 17. It is by the Gospel the righteousness of God is revealed. *John 4. 22.* Christ tells the Samaritans, the Jewes (exclusively) knew what they worshipped, and that salvation was of the Jewes; and in respect of this Gospel-knowledge, the Gentiles are said to have their understandings darkened, *Ephes. 9. 18.*

Whitehead. That place sayes, that the Gentiles were not so enlightened as afterward; for 'tis said that Christ was given for a light to lighten the Gentiles?

Danson. It proves not that Christ was a light

to

to the Gentiles in every age and generation, but after his coming in the flesh. *Acts 13. 46, 47.*
Loe we turn to the Gentiles for so hath the Lord commanded us, saying, I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles. That of the *Ephesians* denies the Gentiles at all to have been enlightened by Christ, (unless as God) before Christ, they were afar off from God and Christ, and the knowledge of them. *Ephes. 4. 18.* *Alienated from the life of God;* which imports their understandings no *In potentia* more capable of the knowledge of God, than *proxima*, or creatures of one kind of life to converse with another: So that the *Gentiles* wanted the light of the Gospel, and light in their understandings, as the light of the Sun is requisite externally, and the light in the eye, so the Gospel, and an enlightened understanding.

Geo. Whitehead. Thon makest the Gospel an *outward light*: But *2 Cor. 4. 6.* the Apostle says, it *shines out of darkness in their hearts?*

Danson. The Apostle speaks of material light, and argues from the effect of one creating word to another, that by the like word of command he had the light or knowledge of Christ in his understanding: As for, *in their hearts*, it is the same with *Ephes. 1. 18.* *The eyes of your understanding being enlightened*, the light by which the Gospel is discerned is inward, but the Gospel it self, outward.

Whithead. *2 Cor. 4. 6.* The Apostle saves, *The light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ shined in their hearts.*

Danson. In whose? Not of all mankind, but of the Apostles and some others, a small number in comparison; and therefore vers. 3. the Apostle sayes, *The Gospel was hid to them that were lost.* And vers. 4. There are some to whom the light of the Gospel doth not shine. And Mat. 13. 11. it was given to the Disciples, not to others to know the mysteries of the Kingdome. And Luke 20. 21. Christ thanks his Father, that whilst he hid the secrets of the Gospel from the Scribes and Pharisees, he revealed them to others.

Whitehead. Luke 17. 21. The Scriptures say, the kingdom of God was in them.

Danson. εὐαγγέλιον among you, i. e. the preaching of the Gospel.

Page 6. *Hubberth.* John 1. 9. Christ enlightneth every man.

Danson. Every man that is enlightened, or some of every nation, kindred, tongue and people.

Hubberth. The Scripture saith, every man.

Danson. The phrase hath a restrained sense, Heb. 2. 9. Christ tasted death for every man, when he died but for a certain number. Vers. 10. In bringing many sons to glory.

Hubberth. Then thou denyest that Christ died for all?

Danson. Yes.

Whitehead. 2 Cor. 5. 14. If one died for all.

Danson. It is spoken of Converts whose sanctification was the end of Christs death, and for whom Christ rose, and who therefore did rise with him?

Qu. 2.

Q. 2. Whether in this life the Saints attain to
a state of perfection and freedom from sin. §. 2.

Hubberth. 1 John 3. 9. Whosoever is born Page 8.
of God doth not commit sin?

Danson. It cannot be meant of freedom from sin, but either, 1. There is an Emphasis in *sinne*, meaning some sort of sin, 1 John 5. 16. There is a sin unto death; or 2. an *no^{ti}s*, which notes to make a trade of sin, thus the Saints sin not. Again, it must be meant of all Saints born again, and then none such sin, contrary to 1 John 1. 8. If we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves; and this is spoken of such as vers. 3. are said to have fellowship with the father and his son.

Fisher. (b) Read vers. ult. If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a lyar: The born of God should lie if they did deny themselves to have sinned before the new birth.

Danson. Vers. 8. It is *ἀπαγάγειν εἰχόμενος*, the other *εἰς ἀπαρτάκαμος*, if the latter were to be understood of sins proceeding, the former is *de presenti*.

Whitehead. Phil. 3. 15. As many as be perfect.

Danson. 1. It is used in a comparative sense in reference to others lesse. 2. Oft in Scripture perfect is put for upright. 3. Phil. 3. 12. the Apostle denies himself yet perfect.

Fisher. Psal. 119. 1. Blessed are the undefiled in the way, they also do no iniquity, v. 2.

Danson. The phrases are hyperbolical, David otherwise excludes himself from blessedness,

Page 10.
b 1. A Mi-
nister. 2. an
Anabaptist.
3. now a
Quaker, &
hath been
at Rome.

his wish, vers. 5. and other passages in the Psalm shews he was not free from sin.

Page 11. Fisher. Luke 1. 6. *And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.*

Danson. 1. How doth it appear, that *righteous* before God is meant of perfect inherent righteousness? 2. That *blameless* is meant otherwise then comparatively. Phil. 2. 15. *Blameless without rebuke*, in the same sense may Luke use the phrase, Phil. 3. 6. *Touching the righteousness which is in the Law blameless.* When a Pharisee, i. e. in respect of others, as Luke 18. 10. *Not as other men are.* 3. Zacharias is at this time guilty of unbelief, Luke 1. 10. *Because thou believest not my words.*

Fisher. No such thing of Elizabeth.

Page 13. Danson. Your argument is from the phrases; and if applicable to him guilty then they will not argue her to be free.

Danson. Eccles. 7. 10. *There is not a just man upon earth that doth good and sins not.*

Hubberth. If meant as thou wouldest, then Christ was not just.

Danson. Christ was God as well as man, the place excludes any meer man.

c Dodder Sublimis. Fisher. The just man spoken of is not on (c) earth; for he is redeemed from the earth; and in the Revelation he is said to be a dweller in heaven. Whereas the wrath of God is said to come on the inhabitants of the earth.

Danson. Can you possibly think that the just mans

mans being in heaven in respect of disposition and affection, and in Christ, excludes his locall abode on earth?

Hubberth. Heb. 12. 23. *Spirits of just men made perfect, spoken of them to whom the Apostle writes.*

Danson. The Apostle sayes, we are one body with them in heaven, the spirits, &c.

Quest. 3. Wheber our good works are the meritorious cause of our justification? §. 3.

Fisher. *Contraria contrariorum ratio,* our evill works are the cause of our condemnation; therefore our good of justification. (d)

Danson. We deny the consequence, because our evill works are perfectly evill, our good but imperfectly so, any one evill is a violating of Rome. ^{d Surely he was now newly come from} the Law, and deserves its penalty; but any or more good works, not the fulfilling it. Again, our evill and good works are not absolutely contrary, the one being perfectly evill, the other imperfectly good, *malum ex quolibet defectu, bonum ex integris causis.* Esay 64. 6. All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags. Lastly, our good works are due, and so cannot merit, our evil violate the Law.

Fisher. I prove the consequence from Gal. 5. Page 15. 18. *But if you be led by the spirit you are not under the law.* Whence, if they who are led by the spirit are not under the Law, then the leading of the spirit is the meritorious cause of their not

being under the Law : but they who are led by the spirit are not under the Law.

Dans. This is no proof of the consequence, you should have proved there is *par ratio*, for the merit of evill and good works , and the leading of the Spirit is an effect , not a meritorious cause of not being under the Law , *that is*, obliged to its penalty,

Page 16. Fisher. 1 Cor. 6. 11. *Such were some of you, but you are washed, but you are sanctified, but you are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God.* Here the Corinthians are said to be justified by the spirit.

Danson. I might say , perhaps the clause should be referred to sanctification, thus ; *but ye are sanctified by the spirit of our God; or else justified by the spirit* , may be meant of the spirits application.

Fisher. Rom. 8. 2. *The law of the spirit of life is Christ Jesus bath made me free from the law of sin and death.* Now 'tis the same law of the spirit of life that is in Christ and the Saints.

Danson. The Apostle asserts the holiness of mans nature as a work of the spirit, conforming it to the Law to be the meritorious cause of our freedom from sin and death ; but not that which is in us, but in Christ. It is true, the same spirit is in Christ and the Saints , yet doth not the spirit conform us fully to the Law ; nor if it did , were that conformity the merit of Justification ?

Page 17. Fisher. Read Rom. 8. 4. *That the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walke*

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not after the flesh, but spirit. This place says, the righteousness of the Law is fulfilled in the persons of the Saints.

Danson. Vers. 3. tells, that the Law was weak through the flesh, i. e. unable to justifie us in regard of our inability (through corruption) to fulfill it, which were untrue, if we were able; It follows, God sent his owne son to give what we could not attain by our own obedience to the Law: And as for vers. 4. it imports the end of Christ's coming, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, not in our own persons, but in Christ's righteousness imputed to us as if inherent.

Danson asked Mr. Fisher, whether Infants be Page 18. in a justified state or no? He answered, there are but two states, Justification, and Condemnation.

Danson. Before you maintained that our Justification was by a personall fulfilling of the Law; and now you grant some persons to be justified who never did fulfill it personally, here is a contradiction.

April 13.

5.4.
Page 20.

Danson undertook to prove our good works dare not be the meritorious cause of our justification, from Rom. 11. 6. And if by grace, then it is no more of worke, otherwise grace is no more grace; but if it be of works, then it is no more of grace, otherwise work is no more worke. If justification

eration be of works, then grace is excluded, for it cannot be of gift and debt in respect of us, but grace is not excluded, we are justified by grace therefore.

Page 21. Again, Rom. 10. 3. For they being ignorant of Gods righteousness, and going about to establish their owne, have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God, for Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. The Apostle makes a distinction between our owne righteousness and Gods, finds fault with them, who neglecting Gods, went to stablish their own, and he makes our righteousness a personall conformity to the Law, and Gods righteousness to be Christs, made ours by faith, you therefore are guilty, who make your owne righteouiness your justification.

Whitehead. We do not make our own righteousness our justification, but the righteousness of God made manifest in us.

Danson. Yesterday you did assert our good works are the meritorious cause of our justification.

Whitehead. We witnesse to the righteousness of God according to Phil. 3.9. Not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.

Danson. The righteousness which is of Christ and of God by faith is called Christ, ver. 8. That I may win Christ, and how he our righteousness? As Christ was made sin for us, by imputation,

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tion: So that the Apostle by his own righteousness understands his personall conformity to the law, and by Christ, that in Christ made the Apostles by faith.

Whitehead. You make two, whereas the righteousness of Christ is but one.

Danson. The righteousness which the Apostle calls his owne, was it not Christ's? and yet that was never in Christ as the subject, and Christ had an inherent righteousness of his own. Here are two righteousnesses, the one for our justification, the other for our sanctification.

Whiteb. Are we not justified by Christ within us?

Danson. By Christ without us.

Whiteb. Then by another Christ, and so two Page 22. Christs:

Danson. Christ within us is not his person, but his operations, the cause for the effect, and therefore it follows not, that we make two Christs: So that when I deny Justification by Christ within us, we deny it by that righteousness in us, whereof Christ is the Author.

Whiteb. I prove our sanctification gives us a Page 23. title to the inheritance, *Acts 20.32. To the word of his grace which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance.*

Danson. Σωτήρες cannot refer to grace (or if it did, grace intends not sanctification) but o θεός God.

Fisher. Tit. 3.7. That being justified by his grace, it is the same with washing of regeneration and

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and renewing of the holy Ghost, verf. 5.

Danson. Grace there is meant of the favour of God, manifest in the giving of his son, imputation of righteousness and acceptance in him.

Whitehead. Rom. 4. 3. Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness. Here faith is the cause of our Justification.

Danson. Formerly it was, we are justified by a personall conformity to the whole Law, and now you will prove that a conformity to a part will suffice. Again, the Apostle doth oppole faith and workes; Now if faith be considered as a worke, there is no opposition, and does not that opposition exclude faith as a work? And is boasting excluded in justification by faith as a work? Rom. 3. 27. Where is boasting? then it is excluded, by what Law? of workes, nay but by the law of faith: And Chap. 4. 5. to him that worketh not, but believeth. For the Text, the act is put for the object, as if it had been Christ whom his faith layd hold on, was imputed for righteousness; but that faith is imputed, instead of personal righteousness, or as the meritorious cause I utterly deny.

§. 5.

April 19.

Q. Whether the Scriptures are the word of God?

Page 25. Mr. Fisher. If you mean by the Scripture I yspah the writing, we deny it.

Danson. We meane the matter contained, whether

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whether that be our rule of faith and life.

Fisher. There are severall books which are as *page 26.*
much a rule as those in your Bibles. *1 Cor. 5. 9.*
I wrote to you in an Epistle. Here you have an E-
pistle of Paul before what you call *the first.*

Danson. You should have proved that men-
tioned, was intended as much for our rule, as those
in our books.

Fisher. If written to the same end, then it
was intended as much; but it was, therefore

Danson. I deny the consequence; Sermons,
private religious discourses, have the same com-
mon end, yet Scripture our only standing rule,
the other as they agree therewith.

Fisher. What character have you of this Epi-
stles being a rule, that the other wants?

Danson. Do you know it is extant?

Fisher. No.

Page 27.

Danson. There is a distinction, God hath re-
served these for our use, the other not.

Fisher. *Col. 4. 16. And that you likewise read*
the Epistle from Laodicea, a book you have not,
but we have.

Danson. All that was written by holy men,
and preserved for our use, is not therefore our
standing rule, then the discourses of holy Min-
isters left in print; but what is the title of that
Epistle?

Fisher. *The Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans.*

Danson. The place you bring, sayes not an
Epistle to Laodicea, but from. But to the quick;
Whether the books commonly called the Old & new Page 28.
Testament,

cation be of works, then grace is excluded, for it cannot be of gift and debt in respect of us, but grace is not excluded, we are justified by grace therefore.

Page 21. Again, Rom. 10. 3. For they being ignorant of Gods righteousness, and going about to establish their owne, have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God, for Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. The Apostle makes a distinction between our owne righteousnesse and Gods, finds fault with them, who neglecting Gods, went to stablish their own, and he makes our righteousness a personall conformity to the Law, and Gods righteousness to be Christs, made ours by faith, you therefore are guilty, who make your owne righteoulness your justification.

Whitehead. We do not make our own righteousness our justification, but the righteousnesse of God made manifest in us.

Danson. Yesterday you did assert our good works are the meritorious cause of our justification.

Whitehead. We witnesse to the righteousness of God according to Phil. 3.9. Not having mine own righteousnesse which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousnesse which is of God by faith.

Danson. The righteousnesse which is of Christ and of God by faith is called Christ, ver. 8. That I may win Christ, and how he our righteousness? As Christ was made sin for us, by imputa-
tion,

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Cap.9. Disputation at Sandwich.

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tion: So that the Apostle by his own righteousness understands his personall conformity to the law, and by Christ, that in Christ made the Apostles by faith.

Whitehead. You make two, whereas the righteousness of Christ is but one.

Danson. The righteousness which the Apostle calls his owne, was it not Christ's? and yet that was never in Christ as the subject, and Christ had an inherent righteousness of his own. Here are two righteousnesses, the one for our justification, the other for our sanctification.

Whiteh. Are we not justified by Christ within us?

Danson. By Christ without us.

Whiteh. Then by another Christ, and so two Page 22. Christs:

Danson. Christ within us is not his person, but his operations, the cause for the effect, and therefore it follows not, that we make two Christs: So that when I deny Justification by Christ within us, we deny it by that righteousness in us, whereof Christ is the Author.

Whiteh. I prove our sanctification gives us a Page 23. title to the inheritance, Acts 20.32. To the word of his grace which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance.

Danson. Σωτήρος cannot refer to grace (or if it did, grace intends not sanctification) but to God.

Fisher. Tit. 3. 7. That being justified by his grace, it is the same with washing of regeneration and

Disputation at Sandwich. Lib.2.

and renewing of the holy Ghost, verf. 5.

Danson. Grace there is meant of the favour of God, manifest in the giving of his son, imputation of righteousness and acceptance in him.

Whitehead. Rom. 4. 3. Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness. Here faith is the cause of our Justification.

Danson. Formerly it was, we are justified by a personall conformity to the whole Law, and now you will prove that a conformity to a part will suffice. Again, the Apostle doth oppose faith and workes; Now if faith be considered as a worke, there is no opposition, and does not that opposition exclude faith as a work? And is boasting excluded in justification by faith as a work? Rom. 3. 27. Where is boasting? then it is excluded, by what Law? of workes, nay but by the law of faith: And Chap. 4. 5. to him that worketh not, but believeth. For the Text, the act is put for the object, as if it had been Christ whom his faith layd hold on, was imputed for righteousness; but that faith is imputed, instead of personal righteousness, or as the meritorious cause I utterly deny.

§. 5.

April 19.

Q. Whether the Scriptures are the word of God?

Page 25.

Mr. Fisher. If you mean by the Scripture *ynach* the writing, we deny it.

Danson. We meane the matter contained, whether

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whether that be our rule of faith and life.

Fisher. There are severall books which are as *Page 26.*
much a rule as those in your Bibles. *1 Cor. 5. 9.*
I wrote to you in an Epistle. Here you have an E-
pistle of *Paul* before what you call *the first.*

Danson. You should have proved that menti-
oned, was intended as much for our rule, as those
in our books.

Fisher. If written to the same end, then it
was intended as much; but it was, therefore

Danson. I deny the consequence; Sermons,
private religious discourses, have the same com-
mon end, yet Scripture our only standing rule,
the other as they agree therewith!

Fisher. What character have you of this Epi-
stles being a rule, that the other wants?

Danson. Do you know it is extant?

Fisher. No.

Page 27.

Danson. There is a distinction, God hath re-
served these for our use, the other not.

Fisher. *Col. 4. 16. And that you likewise read*
the Epistle from Laodicea, a book you have not,
but we have.

Danson. All that was written by holy men,
and preserved for our use, is not therefore our
standing rule, then the discourses of holy Min-
isters left in print; but what is the title of that
Epistle?

Fisher. The *Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans.*

Danson. The place you bring, sayes not an
Epistle to *Laodicea*, but from. But to the questi-
Wherber the books commonly called the Old & new *Page 28.*
Testament,

Testament were appointed by God for a standing rule of faith and life.

Fisher. There is another ; therefore the Scripture is not it. Gal. 5. 16. This I say then, walk in the spirit ; in and by the spirit , there is our rule.

Danson. That phrase notes the principle, not the rule.

Fisher. You suppose the Letter antecedent to the Spirit , whereas the Spirit is antecedent, and none can walk in the Letter, till in the Spirit?

Danson. The Spirit is antecedent in respect of the revelation, but subsequent to the Letter , in respect of assistance which he gives to obedience.

Page 29. *Fisher.* If there was a rule before the Scripture, then that is not a rule ; but there was, therefore

Danson. It was the same matter , since the Gospel preached to Adam, no increase of truths quoad efficiemus sed tantum quoad explicationem ; the manner of conveyance different , but the matter of Doctrine conveyed, still the same.

Page 30. *Fisher.* Rom. 10. 8. The word is mighty even in thy heart, but yours is without.

Danson. It is in thy mouth too. For you read not all.

Fisher. This is meant of the light in every mans conscience , it is a word which every man hath heard. Ver. 18. But I say , have they not heard ? Yes verily, their sound went into all the world.

Danson.

Danson. Then the light within is the spirit N. B.
you pleaded for to be the rule in opposition to
Scripture : But vers. 18. speaks of the Gospel re-
lating to the Preacher , v. 14, 15. And though
the words are taken out of *Psalms* , yet they
intend not that naturall knowledge of God
which *David* speaks of ; but the Apostle inti-
mates , the knowledge of Christ by the Gospel
should be of as large extent in the publication as
the knowledge of God by the hearers ministry.
And the word said to be in the heart is meant of Page 31.
the matters conteined in the Scripture, *that is the*
word of faith which we preach.

Fisher. Col. 3. 16. *Let the word of Christ dwell*
in you richly, yours is without.

Danson. It was without , as it was the Letter
of the Scripture, and his exhortation was to geo
acquaintance therewith, and he prescribes means
in teaching one another , singing of Psalms,
which were part of the words of Christ , as the
matter and author.

Fisher. It is a fond custome to make the peo-
ple sing *Davids* conditions , who have not his
spirit.

Danson. Your objection holds as strongly a-
gainst the use of them in the times of the *Old*
Testament, and yet then they were part of pub-
lique Temple-worship , nor is it more a lye to
sing , then read them.

By this Dispute you have a further discovery
of their false Doctrines , and that in matters of
great concerneinent , how i. They labor to
make

make the Scriptures imperfect. 2. Themselves perfect. 3. And the naturall light in man sufficient to salvation. 4. How, while they would set up Christ in word, they would set up a righ-
teoufulness of their owne to Justification.

In a word , how in many things they plead the Popish cause, while they cry down the Ministers of Christ. You may also see their weakness and wickednesse in wresting of Scripture, how that strength of argument will not satisfie , and secure their obstinacy in darknesse under a pretence of light within them , God heal them of their blindnesse and obstinacy , or stop up their way, that they may not seduce Soules to destruction , and guide them that feare his name; in wayes of Truth and holinesse, through the Lord our Righteousnes. Amen.

CHAP. X.

Showring 1. Quakers instrumental to the introducing of Popery. 2. In some of their Tenents dangerous to States.

The first may appear both by Principles and Practices.

1. *In their Tenents.*

1. **T**HAT the Ministers of the Reformed Churches are no true Ministers. 2. That a man

man is justified by the merit of his good works.
 3. That the *Scribures* should not be read by ignorant and unlearned. 4. That a man may perfectly keep the Law. 5. Denying the imputed righteousness of Christ for justification. 6. That *Scripture* is not the supream rule. 7. Pretending to revelations and miracles. 8. That *H. D.* doth not know whether Purgatory be revealed in *Scripture* or not. 9. The infallibility of their Ministry.

2. Their practice.

Pryn.

George Cowlishaw, Ironmonger of Bri-
 stol affirms on oath, January 22. 1654. The Qua-
 kers deny
 that in September before, he had some discourse
 there with one Cappinger an Irish man, who told
 him that he had lived in Rome and Italy 8. of 9. red out of
 years, and had taken the order of a Franciscan, the Snares,
 and that he had been at London lately for some p. 40. and
 moneths; and whilst there, had been at all the the cry of
 Churches and meetings publique and private that 8. on this
 reason, 10 affarme no such persons speake among them, and they
 know the names of such as have not failed.

he could hear of, (a) and that none came so neare & How di-
 him as the Quakers; (b) And being at a meeting ligent.
 of the Quakers, he there met with (c) two of his To their
 acquaintance at Rome, of the same Franciscan or- praise.
 der that were now becom chief speakers among A design.
 the Quakers; and that he himself had spoken a door open-
 mong the Quakers in London about thirty times, ed.

P

and

e Marke. and was well approved of among them. (e) Coppinger asked him if there had been no Quakers at Bristol, he answered, no. He replied, that if he would give him 5 pound, he would make it five hundred, if some did not come within a moneth, and about 18. dayes after, there came two, probably his two Franciscan Friars, which did much hurt, and gained many Disciples.

As also by Since which they have there taken root, and what fol- spread, of which you have a full discovery in the follows, c. 11. story of James Naylor, before spoken of, who

c. 4. in his answer to Baxter, p. 15. takes notice of this story, and thus replies : " If reason " may judge, most likely came over to second " your envy against us ; why did you not keep " him ? Seeing the Law required it, then might " it have been proved if he had been a Speaker " amongst us : And in the margin, read, the " judgements of God begun on him who took " that oath, and take warning.

Answ. 1. to the 1. It will not easily be credited unlesse by themselves, their tenents and practices have rendred them so bad, we need not be put to such unworthy shifts.

2. Are all Lawes executed ? we should then be in a far better condition, and they in a worse, yea Naylor himselfe, through connivance fared better then the Sentence did allow.

3. How blind is that in the Margin ; the thing he hints is so remarkable and making to his purpose, that hee should have told what, or where.

2. Samuel

2. *Samuel Fisher* 1. denied not that he had Quakers been at Rome; but that he received a pension from the Pope he utterly denied, which is probably as true; for it is had from very good hands, that in his late travell to Constantinople, and thence to Rome, he had as good bills of Exchange as most Gentlemen that travell, and yet it is well known that he hath no visible estate; and the Quakers that came to the dispute did report, that he did bear his witness against the Pope and Cardinals at Rome, and yet they suffered him not to be inedled with, is it not very suspicious the true caule of his safety was his complyance with them? The Doctrines which he broaches every where being theirs, and a fair inlet to their bag and baggage.

2. Mr. Thomas Foxton jurat. *Thomas Barber* Page 57. Cooper, sufficient and credible men of Sandwich, had some discourse wth him at Dunkirke, and he told them he looked upon the Jesuits and Fryars there to be sounder(f) in Doctrine than those we f As sound had been call the Reformed Churches. fair.

3. Hundreds can testifie how light he made of the charge of Popery on the first day of the Dispute, when *Amesius* against Bellarmine was produced, and with a gesture of derision he replied that Bellarmine held many truths, which must not be rejected because he held them.

To the former part of this story, *Gotherson* (g) makes a reply such as it is, viz. "For those g. Allom, false aspersions cast upon him of his receiving a pension from the Pope, I know his soul P. 80 abhor-

" abhorreth any such thing , and that he is as
 " great a hater of the Pope and his wayes as any
 " man in England is ; and I know he hath no
 " such need , nor ever will have : for they that
 " seeke the kingdome of God , and the righteousnesse
 " thereof , all other things shall be admixtred
 " to them . And I do verily think that there is
 " not a man in England more able to confute error
 " and heresie .

Answ. Many words, little proof , a great cry ,
 and no wooll ; he saith they are false aspersions ,
 but proves it not *verba non sunt probata* , unlesse
 that this must be admitted for one , *I know his*
soule abhors any such thing ; he may be deceived
 in the temper of his owne soule , much more in
 another : but *he is as great a hater of the Pope*
and his wayes as any man in England. 1. The
 Pope and his wayes are better beloved then I did
 imagine. 2. Surely there are thousands in Eng-
 land not halfe so well affected as he. 3. His
 hatred , and the greatnessse of it visibly appears
 by the latter part of the relation .

Again , *I know he hath no such needs nor never*
will have. 1. Many men do that of which there
 is no need : There are that have pensions , not
 out of necessity ; though he be not one of the
 Popes *Almes-men* , yet he may be one of his *Fa-*
ctors : but how proves he ? *be never will have* , for
they that seek the kingdome of God ; the Scripture
 is true , the inference false. 1. Shall we say , that
 those who are necessitated to receive almes or
 pensions , seek not the kingdome of God ? Or
 2. That

2. That none of them that do shall ever come to need? I am sure I have seen a Quaker begge and plead necessity, and a Minister relieve her too in that condition: But that *Gotherson* hath too high an opinion of Mr. *Fisher* is evident enough. *I do verily thinke that there is not a man in England more able to confute errorre and heresie.* Oh *England!* if this be so, take up a great lamentation, and bitterly bewail thy sad condition, and the losse of so many famous men that thou formerly enjoyedst, every way furnished with weapons of truth to maintain verity against all opposers: but how is thy condition changed; that now Mr. *Fisher* should be as tall as any in *England*, and as fit to contend for the faith? But for all these swelling words (*b*) of vanity, and doting affection of *Gotherson*, Mr. *Fishers* weakness appears, 1. By his running from one thing to another, Minister, Anabaptist, Quaker. 2. By his managing the Dispute at *Sandwich* so far as he was concern'd, if he be so able, let him peruse his own *Fishers Folly*, his great book in *Folio*, in defence of *Anabaptisme*. and see what he can further maintain, or handsomly retract.

3. "Mr. H. Den in his *Quaker no Papist*, A gagg for Quakers, pretending to defend the *Quaker*, saith not Epist. to the Read-er." one word in defence of any Sect, but onely the down-right open Papist, and uses the very same arguments, and the same words against Protestants in generall as the Papists do in their daily printed books.

And the answer to Mr. Dens *Quaker no Paſt*, fol. 59, 60. saith, "I shall only mention a few of Mr. Henry Dens positions, delivered by him in this Tract; As

" 1. That he does not know whether Purgatory be revealed in Scripture or not, p. 12. l. penult.

" 2. That it is clear, whoever takes the oath of Abjuration (*i*) doth forswear the privileges of Parliament, p. 14. medio.

i And whereas they would blind this with swear yet in other cases they can swear, nor but pro- faneley. R. B. in his Q. K. Charles daves, and our owne will testi-

" 3. That in good earnest he thinks those who had their ordination from the Church of Rome, and do not obey the Pope, are rebels, not at all, disobedient, and apostates, if they defend the necessity of ordination by Bishops, pag. 16. medio.

" 4. That he finds as much honest proceedings and credit in Papists as in Protestants, p. 15. l. penult. and can see no great reason of difference, fear or danger from Papists, p. 18. l. 3.

" 5. "That he does very confidently assure himself, that if an Oath were tendred to all the Papists in this Nation, they would all willingly swear, that neither they themselves, nor any that they know, did ever use any such practice as is reported of *Ramſy* by Mr. *Prin* and some in *Cambridge*, & of a *Franciscan* by Mr. *Baxter*, and swear that neither they nor any they know did ever make profession for what ends soever to be of any Religion save onely their own, p. 19. fine.

" 6. "That no Protestant Minister either in Eng-

"England, or beyond the Seas, hath any better
"ordination or commission to preach then Geo.
"Whitehead the Quaker , p. 8, 9, 10. Lastly,
"that the present Roman Church , and no other
"is the pure Spouse of Christ, or else there hath
"been none in all ages.

Lastly, at the end of a *Gag for Quakers*, there are questions propounded to G. Whiteb. & Fox ; and p. 16. these considerable passages ; "Have we not cause to believe you Geo. Whitehead to be a Papist ? For 1. maintaining Popish Doctrines, expressed in *Ishmael*, and other of your printed books. 2. For refusing to abjure any one point of Popery. 3. For deterring the common people from reading Scripture, by telling them in your book against Clapham, it's carnal, the Letter kills, and therefore can not safely be read by them. 4. For defending Bellarmine with your Colleague F. whom you have seen proved a Papist by witnesses, in a book printed for Joh. Allen, p. 57. 5. For your pretending to infallibility in all points. 6. For your saying confidently in the Majors house that you knew all the Fathers of the first three hundred years were Papists. 7. For your citing places in the *Apocrypha* for Canonical Scripture, as Parrot cites Wisdome 4.8,9. to elude Levit.19.22 See Goliah, p. 63. (k) kVidi & 8. For refusing to tell the people (though oft testor. urged thereto) at your meeting house in Palace yard last May , whether you were a Romanist or not , your companion thereupon

" winking at you, and causing you to be silent,
" and let another stand up and exercise in your
" steed. 9. Because the Papists talk passionate-
" ly, and write books in your behalf, and you
" do as much for them against us Protestants.
. 10. Because when you are not among Scholars
" (as at Lynn and other places) you pretend to
" learning of all sorts, divine and humane, skill
" in the originall Languages: but when in Cam-
" bridge you appear unverst in all manner of
" learning. 11. For joyning your selfe to
" such as have Licenses from the Pope to seduce
" men in England, with this express clause, non
" obstante concilio Tridentino; the original in-
" strument of one of these your brethren Fry-
" ars with this punctual expreſſion, being now
" with the Town-Clarke of Bristol. The writing
" of this minds me of what two other Quakers
laid at a discourse with them in Southwarke, one
of them being told that he was a Jesuite; he pre-
sently replyed, he was of the order of Jesus; and
the other Quaker, though at some distance, and
arguing with another at the very moment, could
take so much notice as to add, yea we are all the
Disciples of Jesus. A Gentleman of good credit
assured me that he met with an English Jesuite
in London the first Lords day in June last, 1659.
one who was bred in Cambridge, and had been
formerly of his acquaintance; who after some
shiness to be known, at length confessed that he
came over to propagate the Roman faith, and
told him there was a good honest people called
Quakers,

Quakers, whom we jeered at, that did their work at the second hand, and he boasted much of the numbers that turned *Catholicks* immediately, or mediately by becoming Quakers. *Danson* in his *Quakers folly*, Edit. 2. Narrat. p. 2. But they have writ much against Popery, and cry out of it.

There
may be
two faces

under one
hood.

The wa-
terman

looks on
way, rows
another.

To cry
thief first,
the wayte
escape.

Page 47.

By this light from within it doth appear, what darkness they would lead us into, and leave us in, thus dangerous are they to the true reformed Church of Christ: but not onely to that, but even to very civil society; & the civil Magistrate is little beholding to them, nay is in danger by them, as appears not only by their rude carriage in the very face of the highest Authority, and their sawcy language; but by some passages of heirs in print to all the world; therefore it is not without ground spoken by those that writ, *A faithful discovery of a treacherous design.*
 " But be assured, if the Magistrates had not a materiall Sword, as the Ministers have not, their language would light as heavy on their heads, and more then so. To give a taste of some

2. Dangerous passages against Magistrates.

I. **G**Otherson in his *Allarm*, p. 66. " Now that Magistrate, whose heart is not touched with the true fear of the Lord; & that seed of true faith that is as small as a grain of mustard-seed, hath got the preheminence, and " is

"is chief in his soul, and Christ Jesus is set up in
 "his soule in him on the Throne , that he hath
 "the whole heart, and the whole man is in his
 "dominion, that can truly say, by bearing testi-
 "mony to the witness of God in him ; That to
 "him to live is Christ, and to dye is gain ; unlesse
 "the Magistrate be such, he is not Christ's Magi-
 "strate : For those that are Christ's have crucified
 "the flesh with the affections and lusts : And no
 "drunkard, whoremaster, swearer, proud, am-
 "bitious , self-seeker , lover of pleasures more
 "then lovers of God , having a form of godli-
 "ness, but denying the power thereof , no such
 "can be said to be of God, & so are not to have that
 "double honour which is due to Magistrates, that
 "do truly rule in this fear. And this discovers
 "plainly how short those Judges and Justices
 "come of being godly Magistrates that suffer and
 "consent to the imprisoning of just and righte-
 "ous ones whom the Lord esteemeth as the ap-
 "ple of his eye ; and those that touch them to
 "their hurt will one day find it, that the Lord
 "esteemeth them as his jewels , and yet how is the
 "Goals filled with them through the Nation ?
 "And some have perished to death, because they
 "cannot consent for conscience sake to pay
 "Tythes , seeing them to be a great and abomina-
 "ble oppression.

1. *Dat bona verba, sed latet anguis in herba :* Here are many good words wrested and misapplyed , but *verba sapienti sat non sunt* ; though they may deceive the simple , they will not those that understand.

2. It

2. It were indeed very desirable, that all who ruled, the Lord did rule them; and that they who reigned by God, God did reign in them: Oh! that the Lords on earth, were the Lords of heaven, such whose hearts were touched with the true fear of the Lord; and that Christs Throne was in their hearts that were in the Thrones, that our Kings were nursing fathers, and our Queens nursing mothers, and that they made their glory serve to the new Jerusalem, very good will the times be, when great men are greatly good: But

3. *Dominium non fundatur in gratia:* And it is false and dangerous to say, *unless the Magistrate be such, he is not Christs Magistrate;* and that they that have onely a forme of godlinesse, no such can be said to be of God, and so are not to have that double honour which is due to Magistrates that do truly rule in his fear. If they be great and good, they are to be honoured the more for that: But if God hath thought good to make them great, we must not think much to give them honour; for God hath commanded it in the first Commandment with promise, Honour thy father and mother. תְּאַدֵּל תְּאַדֵּל כִּי־בְּנֵי אָדָם

4. Good men in some particulars may suffer as Malefactors, when they notoriously offend, the Judge may righteously punish, yea, should offend, if their goodness should be immunity for what evil soever they commit: but what persons he reckones, he presently declares, how is the Gaols filled with them through the Nation? and some have perished to death. If he in Colchester

After Gaole, it was through his own default, famished himself through a wilfull abstinence, and the curse lies on him that transgresses, not on the Judge executing Law, the business of Tythe need not so stumble: but there are that conceive, that were with-held, it would strike heavy at the publique Ministry, and *that is the eye-sore.*

δόξας
βλασφη-
μῶσι.
Jude 8.

Pro.12.26. *the righteous is more excellent then his neighbour*

there is a worthiness of Sex, there is a difference between hic and hac, superiority in relations

1Cor.11.3. *the man is the head of the woman, a hoary head (m) that young men must honour parts and places that carry reverence in the face of them; the man by the light within him cannot, or will not read the fifth Commandment written in his heart, but one day conscience will accuse him. I had not said so much, but that he layes such stress upon it, in words before. This Priest is a bolster of men up in their sins, and sownes pillows under their armes, for he calleth them WORTHY that are his hearers, a worthy proof, and most unworthy charge. And whether tends this, but to make all men of no esteem that are not adorned with the jewel of grace, nor those neither unless Quakers.*

3. Again in his *Allarm*, p. 116 ult. "Let all
" Rulers and Magistrates cease their meddling
" with

" with settling the things of Gods Kingdom , for
 " I have seen they have all been broken to pieces
 " as soon as they go about that work , for the
 " Lord will do his worke himselfe : but he will
 " break the great Potsheards of the earth to pie-
 " ces, if they meddle with those things that con-
 " cern the settling of his kingdome , with more to
 " the same. But

Answ. 1. But why all this? *That they might* destroy , and none might let : They that have so much boldnes now, what would they then, make all bow or break before them? It is not forgotten into what a condition we had almost been cast into by you. 2. The Lord bath alway done his work himselfe , and yet hath vouchsafed to make use of means, *Moses, David, Solomon,* even to build , *Josias, Hezekias, Zerubbabel,* to repair : And when he speaks of Gospel times, he doth engage to do great things by great men whose wealth, and power, and dignity , should much conduce to *Hierusalem's* glory. 3. And it is evident enough, were the *Quakers* but Lords in the earth , they would meddle with the things of God and Christ , not to build, but pull down with a witnes ; in principle, practice, persuasions, and great threatening words , they do now Eph. 2. 2. what lies in them, and more too , but that they ^{νομίζουσιν} are holpen by the Prince of the ayre which works ^{Χρήστος τῆς} in the children of disobedience, and leads them cap- ^{εξοικείας τῆς} tive at his will. ^{προδηλωτος}

4. In the *Questions* at the end of *A Gag for Quakers* , p. 4. Q. 14. there is this query put ; ^{ἐντελεχείας τῆς οὐρανού} " Do ^{οὐδεὶς τῆς αὐτοῦ} προδηλωτος.

" Do not you say that the Magistrate who makes
 " *Acts of Parliament*, and doth not receive them
 " from God, as *Moses* did, doth act contrary
 " to the Law of God, as I made in the Book cal.
 " *led Fiery darts of the Devill quenched*, printed
 " by *Calvert*, 1654. and subscribed by six Qua.
 " kers, the answer to this is *T E A.*

Are you not ashamed? Have you no more wit
 then thus to speak out, and confirm it with a
 Yea? What doth this, but at once cut off the
 head of all humane Lawes, and make Magistracy
 even an ineffectual cipher, not in any capaci-
 ty to make Laws *pro hic & nunc*, they have for-
 gotten *ex malis moribus nascentur bona leges*, that
 the wickednesse of the times timely occasions
 good Laws: but the tendency of this is most per-
 nicious to perswade men to rule, and be ruled by
 the pretence of immediate Revelations, and
 then the Devill will play *Rex* indeed: witnesse
 l. i. c. 3. 4. but that sad story of *Munster*, mentioned in the
 first Book, where all was done by pretence of
 Inspiration, till all was undone; the like in all
 circumstances never being acted under the Sun.
 God give our K. and Senators wisdom to enact
 wholesome Laws in such a time as this for the e-
 stablishing of truth, righteousness and peace,
 and then shall we and our posterity in the obey-
 ing of them be happy, and have great cause to
 blesse the great Law-giver, though he give not
 Laws to them, as sometime to *Moses*.

5. In the same Author q. 16. is it not confessed
 by your selves, in *Sauls errand*, p. 4. and attested
 by

by several Justices of the Peace, Ministers of the Gospel, and people in the County of *Lancaster*, that you teach Doctrines that break the relation of Subjects to their Magistrates, Wives to their *Baxters* Husbands, Children to their Parents, Servants to *Quakers* their Masters, Congregations to their Ministers, *Catechism* and of a People to their God.

p. 16. I know the highest of your Self do forbid your owning of such relations. See Tolderry before Cap. 3. a sufficient answer with Gothenson afterward to Naylor's denying of it.

Answ. Our Doctrine tends to the breaking no true relations.

Reply. It seems you think those no true Relations.

But here once for all, Let me take an occasion to raise up against them, an enemie from among themselves, who though in other things theirs, yet in this of naturall relations, and some other things is clear and full against them.

Epist. 4.

All arm.

" Among those tender Lambs of Christ,
" Those Babes that are born again, those
" plants of the Lords right hand, trees of his
" own planting that are full of sap, the Cedars
" of Lebanon, I mean those that are by the wick-
" ed of the earth, the men of this world in scorn
" called *Quakers*.

p. 50.

By this you see what an high account he hath of them, and how low of all beside them.

" Among

" Among those is crept in wicked deceivers,
 " ungodly men and ungodly women , even as
 " *Judas* crept in amongst the Apostles, such who
 " thinke that gain is godliness , such who follow
 " Christ for the loaves , such as thinke they can
 " serve two Masters , God and *Mammon*, Christ
 " and riches , Christ and lust , Christ and the
 " world, Christ and *Antichrist*. We see then

1. Though they boast of perfection, yet they
 are a mingled mixed multitude , there are evill
 and dangerous persons got amongit them.

2. That simple people had need to be wary ;
 for by this very confession a man is in danger ;
 instead of meeting with an honest *Quaker* , to
 be catched by a *Judas* , a servant of Lust , *Mam-
 mon* and *Antichrist*. " Such who teach the do-

*Neer kin
to Papists.* " *ctrine of Devills* that *Paul* speaks of , denying
 " to marry , and to abstain from meats , such
 " as turn the grace of God in them into wan-
 " tonnesse , truce breakers ; breakers of Cove-
 " nants , pretending they were marryed in their
 " carnall estate ; and they were never moved of
 " the Lord , and therefore they may leave their
 " Husbands , their Wives. This is dangerous
 enough , and the foundation laid broad e-
 nough ; *Married in their carnall estate* , when
 the man is truly grown more carnall , then when
 married , and lusts after strange flesh , then shall
 this serve for a bill of Divorce : and when they
 shall be moved by the Devill then , *they were
 never moved by the Lord* : Are not these such , as
 while they promise to others liberty , are themselves
 the servants of sin . But

But hear *Gosberfon* himself. "That spirit 2 Pet. 2.19.
 "those are guided by is of *Satār*, and so will ἐλευθερία
 "lead them to take others, as their blinde ignis πύρος ἐ-
 "satans leads them; for by nothing but imagina- παντας
 "tion, lust & fancies are such led: And such leads πόθελον
 "away silly women that are captivated by *Satan*. ταῦτα λέγεται
 "Iden with divers lusts & pleasures, that are at- τις θεραπεία
 "ways learning, & never able to come to the know- All Qua-
 "ledge of the truth; Others are led to neglect kees, then
 "their families and relations, and children, con- led by the
 "trary to that of *Paul*, *A man is wortaken an in- light with-
 "fidelity that doth not provide for his family*, meaning in them.
 "his outward family. (n) For let every man wait n Give Mi-
 "on his calling, and God hath appointed that the nisters
 "creation shall be managed, that man may be leave to
 "Lord of all the creatures: And Christ saith, *It is for theirs.*
 "a more happier (o) thing to give then to receive: o His own
 "And the Apostle commanded: *to lay up*, that English.
 "there may be a distribution among the Saints, and
 "how can he lay up, that is idle, and runs too
 "and fro, wasting his time in idleness, and con-
 "suming his precious time, while his wife and
 "children wants at home? And so this spirit
 "rends & tears the affections of men from their
 "Wives, and women from their Husbands, and
 "children from their parents; and this that
 "brings into a disuniting is not the spirit of the
 "Lord, for the spirit of the Lord brings into union.
 "This spirit of righteou[n]esse teacheth a man to
 "know his own wife, and love her as Christ did
 "the Church, and it teaches the woman to know
 "and love her own Husband. God hath been
 pleased to pluck some out of the Snare, but o-

Q

thers

thers thereby have been hardened, so out of this mans mouth truth in this proceeds; oh! that the rest may not the more oppose it.

Page 51. He goes on. "Others there are that are very loose in their carriage, and deny the resurrection of the body, contrary to the doctrine of Tit. 1. 12. "the Apostle, saying, *the resurrection is past already*, these do erre not knowing the Scriptures, and so are led into the distraction which causes disturbance, and this is by the cunning-nesse of Satan, and this simple people are led captive by him.

Epist. 5. p. 54.

"**I**t is not as Roger Crab, William Smith, and John Dunck surmises, and others, in wearing hair or not hair, neither is it in dirty hands or faces as they fondly do surmise; neither is it in straw hats, or such fond conceits. We see in what poor ridiculous things these people put their Religion in. "It is not in denying the lawful use of the creatures, for the Apostle saith, *Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, making no scruple for conscience sake*: So that a man may lawfully eat all creatures, as well as hearbs, or what grows naturally, and every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if received with praise and thanks-giving: And if they, or any led by their fond deceitful spirit, deny the resurrection of the body of Christ out of the grave, let them read Luke 26.3.7. and so on. *Acts 1. 9.* They are superstitious in their observances, and desperately erroneous in their judgements; their Hetero-

Heterodoxies are not small, therefore he concludes well; "The head of the Serpent is too powerful in Roger Crab and his followers, and Page 56. " leads them captive to do his will. This is a true saying, and worthy of serious consideration of them, and the rest of that conspiracy. And I shall take my leave of them even in Gothersons own language.

" And so dear friends I desire you to repent " and turn, and put away the evill of your do- " ings; Cease to do evill, learn to do well, hide " the word of the Lord in your hearts, that you " may not sin against God, and be content with " this knowledge of the Lord, to know what he " requires of thee, and to do it, and that is this, " What doth the Lord thy God require of thee O " man, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walke " humbly with thy God.

CHAP. XI.

*A Narrative of some publique proceedings in
reference to Quakers,*

In Westmerland.

To the Justices of the Peace. .

The Petition of divers Ministers and other Inhabitants in the said County.

Humbly sheweth,

THAT James Naylor and George Fox, men whose Country, habitation, profession and

condition is to us generally unknown, meerly of their own accord have entred into the County, and together with some others their companions and *Proselytes* who are risen up among our selves in it, have filled it in fome parts with very sad divisions and distractions, stirred up much hatred wrath and strife, even between the neerest relations, and powerfully seduced *multitudes* of people from the truth, and true worship of God, to embrace their own corrupt and dangerous doctrines, and follow their pernicious wayes; which things are so notoriously known to all that live in those parts, that we need not here say any thing to acquaint you with it. And though those men tell people where they come, that they are sent to them from God to declare what he hath revealed *in them*, and labour to perswade them that they came to them with the authority of the Apostles of Christ; yet our selves do confidently believe and know them to be wicked men, deceivers, and the very Ministers of Satan, as may appear

1. By the *Horrid blasphemies* which they uttered. 2. By the *damnable Heresies* and dangerous errors which they have broached. All which tend not onely to the disturbance of the publique peace and safety of the Commonwealth, but to the *subversion of all government*. We do in all humility addret our selves humbly and earnestly praying, as you tender the glory of God, and the good of so many soules as are, or may be indangered by their impious principles and practices, that you would be pleased to make

make use of that authority wherewith the Lord hath invested you, speedily to provide for the safety of true Religion and the publique Peace, by checking the wicked endeavours and proceedings of these men; which we humbly conceive, may be at least by ordering *James Naylor*, and *George Fox*, &c. being strangers, to depart out of this County, & to return to their own homes. *Francis Howgill* to be of better deportment specially toward the Magistracy and Ministry of England, and by enjoyning *John Airey*, *Alexander Dixon*, and the rest of the speakers and followers that live in this County, to abide at their own homes, study to be quiet, and do their own businels, labouring in their own Calling, which is the Apostles rule, and not to wander up and down the *County* as seducers, to draw Disciples after them, save onely in a way of travell as private men about their own occasions, and the Lords gracious guidance of you in the affairs of so great concernment, we shall ever pray. Given up at the Court at the Sessions at *Appleby*.

Another.

To the R. H. the Justices of Peace for the County of Westmerland.

The humble Petition of severall Gentlemen, Ministers of the Gospel, and others.

Humbly shewes,

*T*HAT in the late Wars, we, or the most of us did expose lives, liberties, estates and relations, with all other personal advantages, in the

just defence of Religion and Liberty , in concurrence with, and maintaining of the just proceedings of our Parliament , after the prosperous effects whereof, we expected the settlement of the grand ends of our engagement ; and so much the more as being the promise of the Parliament, the vows of their affections , the price of our prayers, purses, hazards , losses , banishments, and the blood of many thousands , our fellow-servants in the work of God , truly sacrificed in the quarrel of this Nation. What hath bin done in the settlement of our civill Rights , Peace, and wholsom Laws , we blesse God for, and the Parliament as his instruments ; Nor can we but acknowledge what hath been done by them in the Cause of God , as their Acts against Adulteries, Fornication, Swearing, Drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking : Ordinances against promoters of Heretical Doctrines. Acts against Ranters , or Blasphemers, may the Lord encrease the number of these things.

Yet so it is, that in this County several persons, Proselytes of one George Fox and James Naylor, do in the time of our Assemblies, ordinarily in a way of contempt and scorn come in among us with their hats on at the time of our prayer , or singing used in our Congregations : Some of them shew violent actions in time of Sermon, or Prayer, or singing, & cry out aloud with horrible clamours, slanders, abuses, reproaches against our Ministers , to the stirring up of wofull Tu-mults, evident disturbing of the work , and the turning of the peaceable Assemblies of the Church

Church of Christ into the grossest confusion: that their deportment is such, and with so continuall violence against the most godly of our Ministers, in all places of their travels, in the streets abusing them with railing language, scornfull behaviours, walking in the Markets with such great numbers together, and scarce passing by any one not of their judgement without abusive words; that as it cannot but shew us no small symptomes of bad designs, so no small reason to provide for our security: That it is their great designe to stir up the spirits of people against the Ministers of *England* in generall without distinction, setting forth and sending abroad daily almost, Libels and Slanders against the office, as needlesse, terming them as, or under the names of *Antichrists*, *Antichrists Merchants*, *Tythemongers*, *Robbers*, *Deceivers*, *Ministers of the world*, *Priests*, *Murtherers*, *Conjurers*, *Devils*, and attēmpting to make Proclamations in the open Markets to the said effect. That their main drift is to engage the people against the Ministry by reason of Tythes, crying out with open clamour against Tythes, as unlawful, antichristian, to the necessary overthrowing of the Laws to that purpose; bringing an odium upon the Government, and tending to stir up sedition in the people, to withdraw their due obedience from the Lawes and Goyernment of *England*; That besides what others perhaps may know of the *blasemies* of them, we do plainly see and know, that their practices do exceedingly favour of *Sorcery*; the quakings, swellings, roarings, foamings, (and such as we never

heard of, but such as were possessed of the Devil) of persons at their meetings, and especially of young children : And giving too sad a suspicion of it, and the more by reason of the known suspicion upon George Fox to deal with the Devil before he came to us in these parts. That we know the principles of some of their followers are *against subjection to Magistrates, against distinction amongst men*; and the practices of the most is such, that there is a denying of relations, children professedly refusing subjection to their Parents, servants to their Masters. That we are sensible what confusions, divisions, tumults, and parties are made by these mens disturbances, and cannot but with sadness of spirit remember, that such small beginnings have in other Nations grown to eat out their peace, and stagger the foundations of their States : As also to lay it before you, what advantage it gives for the common Enemie, weakens the Parliaments Interest in the peoples hearts; to see such persons unrestrained creates discontents, and lays a clear foundation for Civill Wars, or at least advantage to the Hollanders or French now in arms against us, to carry on their wicked intentions with greater facility.

Therefore as you are Christians, and English Magistrates, we are free men born of England, and desiring something more, as instruments under God with others of your present peace, do cry and challenge from you.

1. Your timely looking to the peace of England, that seems too evidently to be endeavoured to be rent asunder.

2. The

2. The protection of our selves and our Ministers from violence or disturbance in our Worship of God, and suppression of offenders.

3. Execution of the Statute against Sabbath-breakers, and such as under pretence of Religion are in no religious Assemblies that day.

4. Charge to all differing Judgements to meet together each *Lords day* peaceably, and not to spread themselves to severall places for disturbance.

5. Suppression of persons living without any Calling, and your witnessing against all Blasphemers of the name of God, especially such as are contained in the Acts of Parliament; and if the application of any effectuall remedy lye not within your power, that you would please to joyn with us in this designe, and transmit this cause to the Right Honourable the Council of State, as a cause too nearey concerning the peace of England. And we shall ever pray, &c.

An Order that was ordered at the Sessions at
Appleby in Westmerland.

Ordered, That whosoever shall hereafter disturb any Minister in the publique Exercise of his Ministry within this County, or give any scandalous, or opprobrious termes against any of them, shall be apprehended by the Constables or Church-wardens of the place, where the offence shall be committed and brought before the next Justice of the Peace, to finde sureties for his or her good behaviour: And upon refusing to finde such sureties

sureties, to be committed to the Common Gaol till willingly they shall do the same, or be from thence delivered by due course of Law. And likewise all such persons as meet in great numbers and assemblies in the night time within this County, shall be apprehended and bound to good behaviour as aforesaid.

I find James Naylor to have been prisoner at Appleby, and then to have written his *Discovery* of the first wisdome from beneath, and the 2d. Wisedome from above.

2. In Worcestershire.

A Mittimus.

To the Keeper of the Gaol for the County of
W O R C E S T E R.

*Cujus con-
trarium
verum
Badaire.*

FOrasmuch as Thomas Goodaire, the 25th. of this instant March, being the Lords day, came into the Parish Church of Kidderminster at such a time as many hundreds of the good people of this Common-wealth were assembled to worship God, and there misbehaved himself, not onely by reproachfull speeches against the Minister; but also by affronting the chief Magistrate of this Corporation, by contemptuous speeches and gestures, whilst he was in discharge of the duty of his place, to the great disturbance of the publick peace, and the grief and perturbation of the people there assembled: These are therefore in the name of his Highness, &c. to will

Cap. II. *A Narrative:*

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will and command you forthwith to receive the said *Thomas Goodaire* into your custody, and him safely keep till next generall Sessions for the Peace to be holden for this *County*; And hereof you are not to fail, as you will answer the contrary. Given under our Hands and Seals this 27. of *March*, 1655.

Nicholas Person.

3. In *Torkeshire, Derby, Leicester, Nor-*
thampton.

There were divers proceedings against William Deusbery.

IT is informed that *William Deusbery* a Ring-leader of the Quakers, goes up and down the County of *Torke*, and is now in the *West-Riding* thereof, dispersing principles prejudicial to the Truth of the *Gospel*, and *peace* of the Commonwealth. It is therefore desired, that seeing no man is allowed publiquely to exercise his gifts to a particular Congregation unlesse he be first tryed and approved, that the said *William Deusbery* may not be permitted to go up and down from place to place teaching, untill he receive approbation of some person who shall be thought fit to judge how agreeable his principles are to truth and peace.

The substance of what was delivered to Mr. *Paylor* the foreman of the *Grand Jury*, to acquaint therewith Judge *Windham* at *Torke Assizes*

zes, 13. or 14. of March, 1653. Whereupon a Warrant was granted in open Court to the Justices in Yorkshire to apprehend him, who being at Tholthorpe about ten miles from Yorke in the North-riding, George Man went to Mr. Dikeson at Kerby Hall in Yorkshire, who granted a Warrant, April 26. And on the 27. at Crake by John Lockwood the High Constable, by that Warrant he was apprehended, and on the 28 day brought before Mr. Dickeſon by whom he was committed.

*The Mittimus to the Sheriff of the County, &
to the Keeper of the Gaol of the Castle at
York.*

WHereas there was a Warrant directed for the apprehending of William Denzberg of Stanly for the seducing of the people of this Nation, from Judge Windham the last Assizes; and he being brought before me, and refuseth to find Sureties, to be of good behaviour, and to appear at the next Assize to be holden for the said County to answer the premisses; you are to receive into your custody the said W.D. and him safely to keep, untill delivered by due course of Law. April 28. 1654. Tho. Dickeſon.

At Yorke Castle he was kept prisoner till the Assizes till July 25. And at the end of the Assizes cleared by Proclamation, & had a Liberate sent him, as he saith himself. From thence he went into Cleveland, and other parts in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and so to Derby; and at Derby he was laid hold on as he was declaring his mind, and so

so carried before the Justices, sitting in *Sessions* in the Town, Aug. 24. 1654. where it seems he appeared in such manner, as the Justices bid the Jaylor take him away to Prison for disturbing the Court. Into Prison he was put, and at night the *Mayor*, *Thomas Tail* sent for him, and asked him what he came to *Derby* for, he answered, to declare the word of the *Lord*. The *Mayor*, wilt thou go out of the Town? *Answ.* When the *Lord* orders me. Then was he commanded to prison again. The next day came one of the *Mayors* Officers, and said, if he would go forth of the Town, and come no more, he would let him out; he answered, he would not till ordered of the *Lord*, and till the man that said he had authority to put me in, come and take me out; afterward the Jaylor delivered him to the Officer, who put him forth of the *Towne*, and strictly charged him to depart: But he returned into the Town again, and there stayed, as he saith, till he was free in his spirit to go thence.

From thence he went to *Leicester*, there he went into the Church; and after the Minister had done, he spake to the people, then two from the *Mayor Edmund Johnson*, carried him away to him, who commanded his Officers to put him in prison; and the next day he was brought before the *Mayor* and another of the *Magistrates*; and after examination; the Keeper of the *Gaol* was commanded to put him out of the Town, and charged him to depart, but he returned to go on in his speakings.

Then (as he saith) in obedience to the spirit of Truth,

Truth, he went into Northamptonshire, and at Wellingborough went into the Church, and after the Minister had done, then he spake to the people, Decemb. 23. Richard Dennis Constable, had him with a Warrant before Mr. Thomas Penlow at Wilby in Northamptonshire; who upon examination made him a *Mittimus*, and sent him to Northampton Gaol; and when he appeared before the Justices at Session, he was again committed to prison to answer next Assizes, March 1654. where he was brought before Judge Hale and Judge Windham, by whom he was committed to prison again; whilst he was there, he writ his *Discovery*, and his *Mighty day*.

4. In Carlisle.

Thomas Stubbs went into the church at Dean after the Minister had done, he began to speak, and after that time, Peter Head did likewise; the Minister having a Warrant, required the Constable to take him away, and so he was carried before the Magistrate. At the Sessions they were indicted; and not submitting to the Justices, they were commanded to prison. Tho: Stubbs and John Head had not long after a Liberate; for Peter Head there was a *Mittimus*, that he should be in prison three moneths without Bail or Mainprize: But they that might go free, chose rather to abide in prison, then pay their fees, where they were above 13. weeks in Prison, and Peter Head above three moneths.

5. In

5. In Bury.

George Rose was more then 40 weeks (as he saith) in the Gaol of Edmunds-Bury. George Whitehead, John Harwood, and Richard Clayton passing through Bury in Suffolke, about 5. miles from Halstead in Essex ; and passing by the Church, Rich: Clayton set up a paper upon the Church door, the people gathering about to read it, Harwood and Whitehead began to speak to the people ; and passing from the people, Richard Hum, Constable stayed them, and carried them two before Justice Pelham, who examined them, and sent them by the Constable to Justice Walgrave, who after examination, gave his Warrant to imprison John Harwood, and another, to have Rich. Clayton whipped at Bury, and sent from Constable to Constable till he came to his home, and charged the Constable with Whitehead that week, till another Justice came from the Assizes at Bury : So they were had back to Bury, and Rich. Hum that night in the open street whip'd Rich. Clayton, and afterward sent him away that night, and kept Harwood & Whitehead. Next morning Harwood was sent to Bury Prison, some 16. miles from the said Bury, to wit, to Edmunds Bury in Suffolke ; and the next morning a Warrant came from Justice Walgrave to send Whitehead to the said Prison, which was done accordingly.

6. At Evesham in Worcestershire.

At the general Sessions held for that place, many of the Quakers were fined, and 11. imprisoned.

prisoned. The Mayor Edward Young, upon the 14. of October, committed 2. Quakers to prison, and at night divers of them meeting in the street, the Mayor came with Officers, and put many of them into prison, and into the stocks, and three of them into the dungeon, commanding the rest on pain of imprisonment to depart.

7. At Northampton.

A. D. 1655. July 21. the Gaoler called Will. Densbury, Joseph Stow, Henry Williamson, John Whitehead, Marmaduke Stow, Tho Cocket, and Francis Ellington, and set them them at the Bar before the Court, and they all were covered till the Judge commanded the Gaolers man to pull off their hats.

Judge Atkins asked Will. Densbury his name; he answered, unknown to the world, but that the world knows is William Densbury. Atkins, what Countryman? A. of Canaan. My natural birth was in Yorkshire, 9 miles from Yorke, toward Hull. Atkins, why did you not stay there? A. So I did, till called to go, where led by the Spirit. The Clerke of the Peace told the Judge there was an Information given in on oath by Mr. Robert Burton, that Will. Densbury, 29. of December, 1654. did go into Wellingborough Church, and by gesture and words made disturbance among the people. J. Atkins. I shall take course, that those which have disturbed the Ministers, before I go forth of the Town, be indicted; and told Densbury that he broke the Law, in that he was found wandring in the Country; for

for there is an ancient Law , that if any did go from their dwellings, to travell in the Countrey without a Certificate from a Justice , they were to be taken as Wanderers ; and common fame is a good accuser, though not a good tryer : And I am satisfied from what I have heard to continue you in prison, unlesse you will put in bond to be of good behaviour , and appear at the next Assizes ; for you are by common fame accused to be a dangerous people, and breakers of the publique peace. The Court rising, the Gaolers took them away to prison again till the next Assize.

8. Lancaster.

From thence a Petition to the Council of State, of severall Gentlemen , Justices of Peace, Ministers and People.

Sheweth,

THAT George Fox and James Naylor are persons disaffected to Religion, and the wholesome Laws of this Nation : And that since their coming into this Country , have broached opinions tending to the destruction of the relations of Subjects to their Magistrates , Wives to their Husbands, children to their Parents. servants to their Masters; congregations to their Ministers, and of a people to their God : And have drawn much people after them, many whereof (men, women, and little children) at their meetings are strangely wrought upon in their bodies , and brought to fall, foam at mouth, roar, and swell in their bodies ; and that some of them affirmed themselves to be e-

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quali

quall with God, as hath been attested at a late Quarter-Session at *Lancaster* in *October*, & since that time acknowledged before many Witnesses, besides many dangerous opinions and damnable heresies, as appears by a Schedule annexed, with the names of the Witnesses subscribed.

May it therefore please your Honours, upon consideration of the premises, to provide that some speedy course may be taken for the suppressing those evils, &c.

The Schedule.

1. *George* professed and avowed that he was equall with God. 2. To be the Eternal Judge of the world. 3. He was the Judge of the world. 4. The Christ, the way, the truth, and the life. 5. Whosoever took a place of Scripture, and made a Sermon of it, was a Conjuror, and his preaching conjuration. 6. That the Scripture was carnall.

James Milner professes himself to be God and Christ, and gives out prophecies.

1. That the day of judgement shall be the 15. of Novemb.

2. Never Judge sit at *Lancaster* again.

3. That he must ere long shake the foundations of the great *Synagogue*, meaning the Parl.

Leonard Fell professeth, that [Christ had never any body but his Church. *Richard Hubberth*. That Christ's coming in the flesh was but a figure.

Geo. Fox saith, these matters are falsely charged upon him: but whosoever reads his answers may easily see how he prevaricates. To give you a tast, 1. Answering that have broached opinions,

Sauls Err-
and, p. 3.

p. 4. *Opinions we deny*, they taking themselves in all to be infallibly guided by the Spirit, and saith but little more in a few canting termes to that grand Objection of teaching such Doctrines as break relations. 2. To that of saying he was equal with God, this jejune equivocating answer. *It was not so spoken, as George Fox was equal to God, but the Father and the Son is one, &c.* 3. To that he is the eternall Judge of the world, answers p. 6. He that was a Minister of God said, that the Saints shall judge the world : What means this daubing, this palliating? Come to an humble Saint, that knows himselfe, and abhors his own vileness, and from him you shall have far other answers : So that indeed his whole answer will be found rather a confirmation of the charge; then a clearing of him; so that the more he stirs, the worse he stinks. It is in vain, and but expence of time to make more words about it, he that will may read the book.

Of James Milner, That though his mind did run out Page 9. from his condition, and from minding that light of God which is in him, yet there is a pure seed in him, hoc concessio, two pillars of theirs are overturned; that they are grid d alway in their teachings by an infallible spirit infallibly, and perfect.

Of Leonard Fells, That Christ had no body but his Church. Ans. There is one body, & Christ is the head of his body, the Church; goes to make it good, and in justifying another, condemns himself.

9. In Devonshire.

^a Not
Hilbead.

^b But not
well season-

^c But by
whom? the
Question.

^d All as
they con-
ceive.

^e Qno war-
ranto?

^f A long
journey on
a sleeve-
less errād.

^g For
clearly
they were
out of the
way.

Miles Halbead (a) and Tho. Salthouse (b) being pressed in spirit (c) to visit the seed of God in captivity (d) in Plymouth, left their beings and relations in the North, (e) passed thitherward as far as Hunniton neer Exeter, (f) where a guard being placed for apprehending of such persons as were suspected to have a hand in an Insurrection broke out a little before, by them they were taken up and brought before Colonel Coppleston high Sheriff of the County: Having examined them, he caused them to be kept close prisoners at Exeter for about 14 dayes, and then sent them from Officer to Officer towards their homes. (g)

Being come 2 miles from Taunton on the way to Bridgewater, the Officer falling to the ground was able to go no further; whereupon they returned (as they say) to the Justice of Taunton, to know what they would enjoyn them in, and he quietly dismissed them.

Hereupon they passed to Bristol, having staid there, and thereabout some time, they passed to Plymouth, 16. of May, 1655. On May 21. the Constable came with a Warrant from Mr. John Page Mayor; being brought before him, they were committed to prison at the Guildhall. The next day they were brought before the Mayor, Magistrates, & Council, and the Ministers of the Town, and severally examined about the space of 3. hours, and returned to prison; the Mayor being asked why they were committed, answered for denying the Trinity, and that there had been

been oaths taken to that purpose : And being again asked, he said for refusing to take the Oath of Abjuration, & upon suspicion that they were Jesuits. Having been kept prisoners for the space of a week, May 28. they were sent to the Common Gaol in the Castle of Exeter, as disturbers of the peace, and for divers other misdemeanors against a late Proclamation , prohibiting the disturbing of Ministers ; and against an Ordinance of the Protectors lately made against Duels and Challenges, and all provocations thereunto, and for refusing to give sufficient sureties for their appearing at next Sessions; and in the mean while to be of good behaviour. Being brought to Exeter, they lay till the general Sessions the 10. of July. On the 12. they were brought before the Sessions, to whom the Clerk read a Bill of Indictment upon the Ordinance for preventing of Duels.

That they did the 20. of May, 1655. at Plymouth in the hearing of divers , use divers disgracefull provoking words and passages to Geo. Brook Clerk in the Nightingale Frigot ; he being then opening and declaring to the same persons a Scripture, wherein he spake of the Trinity, viz, Thou lyest in saying there were three persons in the Trinity; we deny it, there is no such thing: but thou art a deluding spirit, come to draw away the hearers of the people from God : And they did speak to the people not to hearken to Geo. Brook , for that he was a Thief, and was come with a lye in his mouth: and said it was a lye that he had brought , and other harms to the said George Brook against the publique peace.

To the Indictment they pleaded *not guilty*, the Gaoler was commanded to take them away, and about an hour after called in, and the Oath of Abjuration tendered them; which they refusing, were returned to prison: The next day they were brought to the Bench again, and refusing to confess they had wronged Mr. Brooks, they were fined 5*l.* a piece, and sent to the House of Correction till payment, and to find sureties for their behaviour, and so were they returned to prison.

10. In Bristol.

Some neer Kendale in Westmerland came to Bristol on July 12. 1654. and went to Plym. on the 14 and from thence to London: but one of them, John Audland, returned to Bristol about Septemb. with one John Cazzm, where they prevailed on many; the places of meeting were in the fields, though winter, to two, 3. yea sometime near 4000.

On the 30 of Octob. the Magistrates being assembled in the Council-Chamber, sent an officer to Francis Howgil and Edw. Burrough to come before them; which done, they were commanded to depart the City & Liberties thereof at their peril. To which they made answ. That they came not in the will of man, nor stood in the will of man: but when they moved them to depart, who moved them thither, they should obey; but their wills they could not obey, for their will was not law. Thereupon a while after, Representations were made at Whitehall and Westminst. that they were disaffected to the Government, suspected to be carrying on some designe, and that there are thousands

sands at their meetings, even in the Fort, that the Garrison was in danger thereby, and that the Officers of the Garrison were friends to them.

On Decemb. 10. in the morning, *Eliz. Marshall* went to *Nicholas Church*, where Mr. *Ralph Farmer* preached; sitting over against him, after the last prayer, she cryed out, *This is the word of the Lord to thee Farmer, wo, wo, wo, from the Lord to them who take the word of the Lord in their mouths, and the Lord never sent them;* was proceeding, but hindred by the people tumulting about her, to them she said, *This is the mighty day of the Lord, the Lord is coming to pull the people out of the mouths of all dumb Shepheards:* The *Mayor*, Mr. *John Gunning*, the next day sent for her, & several days that week, but she was not at home. In the afternoon the same day, M^r *Grimes* preached at *Philips*; *Henry Gunning* reproved him, he having said, *that he committed sin in all he did.* Whereupon *John Warring* said to him, *If thou wert a Minister of Jesus Christ, the law of the spirit of life would make thee free from the law of sin and death.* That week the *Magistrates* sent for *Joh. Warring*, and upon the disturbance committed him to *Newgate*.

On the 17. of this moneth, *Eliz. Marshall* went to the *Colledge Church* to speak to Mr. *Knowls*: After the blessing, she said, *This is the Word of the Lord to thee Knowls, I warn thee to repent, and to mind the light of Christ in thy conscience;* and was very full to have spoken more: but *Alderman William Cann* commanded to lay hands on her. To them she cryed with a loud

voynce

voynce often; *The mighty day of the Lord is at hand wherein he will strike terror on the wicked.* By a Constable she was carried before the Mayor, who for disturbance was sent by him to Newgate. The 18. she was sent for to the Council-house, where Mayor & Aldermen sitting, the Mayor charged her with disturbing the peace, and called for the depositions against her, as to what said to M. Farmer, he not having said the Blessing. The depositions were read; and she being demanded concerning the words, answered, *I have said,* whereupon she was returned to prison. At length in this moneth it grew so high, that the whole City was put into a great tumult, and most imminent danger.

On Janua. 1. Henry Warren went to Thomas Church, where one Mr. Longman preached; and when he had done, told him, *The prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord;* thereupon he was carried before the Mayor, who demanded of him why he kept on his hat in the time of Prayer; he replyed, the Lord saith, *my soy give me thy heart,* for the fashions and customs of the world are an abomination to the Lord. After further examination he was committed to prison.

Janu. 16. 1654. a general Sessions for County and City was held, where was called H. Warren, to whom the Town-Clerk said, he stood there for disturbing the peace: and nothing in charge being returned, he told him he might go about his business, and bid him take that for a warning.

Eliz. Marshal was the next; the Town-clerk told her she stood committed for disturbing the peace.

peace. After some speech, she was returned to prison, where she was continued about 4. weeks, and then released.

John Warring next, to whom his Charge was read for making disturbance in the Congregation, calling the Minister Devil, and kicking at the Clerke, and saying, *the Minister spake never a true word.* Then the Court asked him, whether he would promise for the future he would do no more such things, and find Sureties for his good behaviour; he refusing, was sent to prison again, and continued there till the 19th of January, at which time a Liberate was sent the Taylor, signed Aldworth, and witnessed John Gunning Mayor, dated Jan. 19. 1654.

At this Session there was made this order; That no person or persons do hereafter presume to molest, trouble, or otherwise disquiet any Minister or Congregation either before or after the publique Exercises be ended: And if any person or persons so offend, that in all such cases, the Constables or any other Officers shall apprehend, take, or arrest the party or parties so offending, and bring him or them before the Mayor, and some other Justice of the Peace, who are to take care that such offender or offenders be bound with sufficient Sureties to appear at the next general Sessions; and in the mean while to be of the good behaviour: and for not finding some sureties as aforesaid, to commit them to prison. That if any such disturbance, trouble, or other disquietment be hereafter made, done, or committed in the Churches, as aforesaid; the Minister be also desired not to hold dispute, or other publick debate

there with the party or parties so offending, but to perswade the hearers to repair home quietly to their several families and habitations, and not to hearken to, or run after them. That the Constables do once in every fortnight make diligent search within their several Wards for all strangers, Inmates, & suspitious persons, and to present their names, and those who entertain them within two days following to the Mayor and Justices, to the end such course may be taken with them as is agreeable to Law. That all people do take special notice, and be hereby forwarned not to be present at any tumult, or other unlawful assembly, or on any pretence to assemble or gather into companies, or multitudes, into the streets or elsewhere, or to conduct and follow offenders either to the Magistrates houses, or other places of justice, unless they be thereunto lawfully called: And the Constables and all other publick Officers are hereby required to apprehend and arrest all such Boyes and Apprentices, and other people that shall assemble or gather together as aforesaid, and to bring them before the Magistrates to be punished according to Law.

Jan. 22. Tho. Bawden for speaking to the people in the Congregation, was committed to prison, as also a Warrant signed, To all the Constables within this Cittie, and to every of them.

Forasmuch as Information hath been given us, that John Cam & John Audland, two strangers, who were commanded to depart this City, have in contempt of Authority come into this City again to the disturbance of the publique peace: These are therefore to will and require you forthwith to apprehend

prehend them, and bring them before us to be examined according to law.

January 25. A Warrant as followeth. Forasmuch as Information upon oath hath been given us that certain persons of the Franciscan Order in Rome have of late come over into England, & under the notion of Quakers, drawn together severall multitudes of people in London. And whereas certain strangers going under the names of Joh. Cam, Jo. Audland, Geo. Fox, Ja. Naylor, Fr. Howgil, and Edw. Burrough, and others unknown, have lately resorted to this City, and in like manner under the same notion of Quakers, drawn multitudes of people after them, and occasioned very great disturbances among us. And forasmuch as by the said Information it appears to us to be very probable, & much to be suspected that the said persons so lately came hither, are some of those that came from Rome as aforesaid. These are therefore in the name of the Protector, to will and require you to make diligent search through your Ward for the aforesaid strangers, or any of them, and all other suspected persons, and to apprehend and bring them before us, or some of us to be examined and dealt with according to Law. Hereof fail you not.

Upon this warrant, Tho. Marford was taken, having on a hair coat : Being brought before the Magistrates, his coat was taken off, and the Officers ordered to turn him out of Town, which was done accordingly : but he by and by returned at the same gate ; within which no sooner entred, but the Officers apprehended him again, and brought him before the Mayor, who committed him

him to prison, and his hair coat sent him, which he put on the next day on his other clothes: but the 3^d day he was inwardly required (as they say) to put the hair coat next him, and so to abide till he spake with the Mayor, which he did, and likewise was barefooted. When released, he immediately went so to the Mayor; who commanding his hat to be taken off, the ashes on his head flew about, which he shaked from him, telling the Mayor, that the Lord of hosts would stain the glory and crown of all his pride, and strip him naked and bare.

Febr. 4. Thomas Robertson of Graierig neer Kendal in Westmerland, being at Nich. Church when Mr. Hazard preached: After he had done, Thomas utters his voyce; being apprehended, he was carried to the Mayors, and committed to Newgate.

The same day Christopher Berkhead went into Stephens Church: when all ended, he said to the Minister, thou son of Pride, and proceeding further; and the Constable coming, he further said, the plagues of God is thy portion, the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. The next day the Mayor and Aldermen sent for him, and demanded wherefore he disturbed the Congregation, and bid him promise the Mayor that he would go to the Church no more, and they would free him: He answered, As to my own will I shall not go: but if I am moved of the Lord, I shall obey. Then he was sent to Bridewel, where he was for 9 or 10 days.

On March 15. 1654. Jeremy Higdel was sent for by the Mayor and Aldermen, and committed to

to Newgate ; on the 2d. of April he was sent for before them again, and was committed, but that evening released.

Sarah Goldsmith on May the 5th. 1654. put on a coat of sackcloath of hair next her, uncovered her head, put earth thereon, with her hair hanging down about her, without any other cloaths upon her, except shoes on her feet : In that manner went to every gate, and through every street within the walls of the City, and then stood at the high Cross in the view of Town and Market as a sign against the pride of Bristol, and abode in that habit 7. days. From the high cross she was brought by the Chamberlain, with some of the Sergeants to the Council-house, the Mayor asked her a reason of her actions ; she answered, It was in obedience to the light in her conscience, so she was sent to Bridewell.

On May 8. the Mayor sent for Daniel Wastfield, and committed him to Newgate, where he continued a prisoner 33. dayes.

On the 11. the Mayor sent for William Ford, and being come, the Milliners complained, that he kept a man at work in contempt of the Mayors order; whereupon the Mayor charged him to turn the stranger away, and for refusing he was committed to prison : and refusing to go, the Officers did drive him along, where he was 26. dayes.

On Septemb. the 2^d. Christopher Berkhead at Nicholas Church, where Mr. Farmer having done (before that he stood with his hat on in the time of Prayer) he spake ; Thus saith the Lord, a horrible

horrible and wonderfull thing is committed in the Land; he by an Alderman present was committed to Bridewel.

On Septemb. 9. Benjamin Maynard went to Mr. John Paul Minister, and coming into the Church where he was preaching, he said, *John Paul, in the presence of the Lord be silent*. And as he was speaking further, taken and carried to Bridewel. The next day he was sent for before the Mayor and Aldermen, and asked to find Sureties; he refusing, was sent to Newgate.

On Septemb. 16. Margaret Thomas being at Nicholas Church, after Mr. Farmers Prayer before Sermon, she said to him, *Wo unto the Idolshepheards that devour and scatter my flocke with the Lord*, with more: but the Mayor and some Aldermen being present, commanded her to be carried to Bridewel; where continuing two or 3. days, she was removed to Newgate.

On September 23. Temperance Hignel went into Temple-Church; after Mr. Jacob Brent had done, began to speak, saying, *Wo from the Lord to thou Jacob Brent*. She was carried before Alderman Knight, who committed her to Bridewel. The next day she was brought before the Mayor and Aldermen, she was then asked whether she would go thither again? and whether she would be sorry for what done? She said, *she could say little to that*. Then the Mayor asked her if she would find Sureties for her good behaviour, she answered, *no*, so she was again committed, and sent to Newgate.

The same day John Smith went to Nicholas Church,

Church, Mr. Farmer having ended his Sermon before he began to pray, spake to the people that John Smith should be uncovered: and he perceiving the people moved, said, *why do the heathen rage?* And told Mr. Farmer, that he was covered with a covering, but not of the spirit; that he was not led by the Spirit, when he would bring one to swear, &c. The next day the Mayor & Aldermen sent for him; and coming before them covered, his hat was taken off at their command: Then they charg'd him with making a disturbance in the Church, then they asked him whether he would find sureties for his good behaviour? and he not doing it, was sent to Newgate. Octob. 8. he was again brought before the Mayor and Aldermen, and after a while remanded to prison; the Officers coming, he held fast by the Bar, from whence by force they haled him.

Octob. the 10. Being the general Session of the Peace, Benjamin Maynard appeared, to whom was read an Information concerning his going to Mr. John Pauls Church, as afore: He ansvered, *what I have spoken, I will own.* The Court asked him, vwhether he vwould be sorry for vwhat he had done? he ansvered, *Nay, I will not be sorry at all.* Then Margaret Thomas was called, to whom the Town Cleke read an information, vwhich he laid vwas upon oath; *Her going into Nicholas Church: and after Mr. Farmer had ended his first prayer, her speaking, no un- to the Idol-shepherd that devours and scatters my Flocke,* with much more to that purpose. Then he asked, whether she vwould be sorry for it, and promise to do so no more? she ansvered, *I will not,* and so she vwas put by. Temperance Hignel was called, and asked, vwhether she vwould be lorry for vwhat she had done, and promise to do so no more? She ansvered, *she was not sorry, neither could promise, so vwas put by.* John Smith next, against whom

whom an Information was read, *For disturbing the Congregation, and abusing Mr. Farmer.* They asked, whether he would acknowledge his offence, and be sorry for what done? which he denied, and so put by. *Williams Ford* being asked whether he was sorry for what done? answered, *he had committed no evill, and therefore had no cause of sorrow;* Which being urged again and again, and still refusing, he was taken away.

Lastly, *Christopher Berckhead* was brought, then asked whether sorry for disturbing the Congregation? he answered, *be disturbed no man,* he vvas bid to be taken avvay till he found Sureties; and so he vvas put from the Barre, and he vvith the other 5. vvere returned to Newgate.

On the 5. of Novemb. *John Smith, Rich. Jones, Christopher Berckhead, Margaret Thomas, and William Ford,* vvere let out upon two becoming Bail unknown to them for their appearance onely at next generall Sessions.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THIS Nataitive is collected out of their own Papers, which is there to be found: but two things I was necessitated to omit. 1. Many particular circumstances. And 2. what they say in reference to all those proceedings. 1. Crying out exceedingly of Injustice and Oppression in the Magistrates. 2. Of tumult, violence, cruelty, and inhumanity among the vulgar; He that is desirous, may peruse their Books, as, *The cry of Blood.* The persecution of the Quakers. The wounds of an Enemy in the house of a Friend. *Sauls Errand.* A discovery of the grounds of Im-prisonment in Northampton cum aliis. But had notice been taken of all, it would have been very tedious, and the book been far bigger then intended.

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